New Republic

JUNE 6, 1949

THE NEW ATTACK ON LILIENTHAL

AN EDITORIAL

LESLIE THE BIFF

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

THE PARIS MEETINGS

By PERCY WINNER

HAROLD L. ICKES: SENATOR McGRATH STUBS HIS TOE

15¢

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TWO MORE EDITORS REPORT FROM EUROPE

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Our editor is in Europe. He will write a series of articles for the *New Republic* based on first-hand experiences. While it is difficult to predict what an alert and concerned observer will write about in these uncertain times, we are counting on a report and interpretation of the British Labour Party meeting at Blackpool, a discussion of the military and political integration of Europe and an article on Italy. *Make sure you get them!*

PERCY WINNER

Two weeks ago you read Mr. Winner's astute and timely explanation of why, in his opinion, the Berlin blockade was lifted. That was written from Europe, where Mr. Winner is traveling about at this moment. So was the article in this issue. Mr. Winner will continue to write from Europe on problems which worry liberals and he will arrange for articles by discerning Europeans.

HAROLD CLURMAN

As we announced a month ago, Mr. Clurman is reporting on the theatre from abroad. He has bid farewell to Paris after his series of three enlightening pieces, and expects to write from Rome and Tel Aviv in the weeks ahead. *Read him to keep abreast of the theatre!*

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THIS USUALLY OMNISCIENT column would like to tell you what President Truman plans for the rest of the legislative session, but, candidly, we don't know. Majority Leader Lucas left the White House last week and, interviewed later, spoke in a discouraged way of a three-point, stripped-down program containing only Taft-Hartley, reciprocal trade and the Atlantic Treaty. With jubilant whoops the conservative press hailed this. It was what they had hoped for. It acknowledged that the Truman mandate meant nothing—the election meant nothing. It was Capitulation.

Two days later, at his press conference, Truman denied it. Lucas had been misquoted or his views distorted. True enough, the leaders want Congress to recess July 31, explained Truman, but with this vital qualification —only if its work is completed.

We don't know what to think of this. It's funny, of course, to see the eagerness of conservatives engaged in wishful thinking. This is the logical point in any liberal administration when it's sound tactics for conservatives to call the whole thing a flop. That is expected. But it is also true that in this case there has been a quiet sitdown strike in Congress. Not for half a century has there been so glaring an example of the incapacity of our political institutions to carry out the intention of the voters. It sometimes seems to us the most dangerous thing in America. We can't see the end of it.

Truman's qualification of Lucas' statement doesn't wholly reassure us either. Lucas has blurted out brutal truths before. The President bolstered his version by citing certain measures on which he demands Congressional action. But he included the old $4 billion tax increase. His chances of getting this are as slim as Frank Sinatra. The wisdom of a tax increase in the present recession is doubtful anyway, and Truman knows it. We shall just have to wait a bit to see if the Administration is serious and what it really plans to to.

Free-lance William Bradford Huie is the man who sold the New York *Daily News* the great scoop about the loss or theft of "three-quarters of a pound" of Uranium-235. About the same time Senator Hickenlooper (R, Iowa) gave out the story of atomic scholarships in non-secret physics to youths who hadn't taken loyalty oaths. Hickenlooper objected to this some months previously in the privacy of the Congressional atomic "watchdog" committee. When the Huie story broke he coupled the two in a charge of "incredible mismanagement," demanding Lilienthal's resignation.

We may be wrong, but the way things are shaping it looks like a wonderful break for Lilienthal. For months—years—Lilienthal has been trying to get the facts before the public of the positive, constructive atomic work his outfit is doing. He has organized press seminars and taken batches of baffled correspondents to Oak Ridge, whence they sent back scientific dispatches on isotopes to unsympathetic editors who buried them on the financial pages. Now there is a great opportunity.

The *Daily News* story is nine-tenths rubbish. The loyalty-oath issue chiefly affects only one unfortunate youth. Hickenlooper seems to be trying to soften the effect of his original sensational charge. But Lilienthal has moved in on the offensive. He is very nearly our favorite witness. While the cameras whirred before a full meeting of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee he respectfully requested a full-scale investigation of his whole outfit, in all particulars. Looks as though he would

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Recently a group of journalists, philosophers, scholars, and expert observers met privately to discuss the USSR.

What they talked about was reported in some detail in the 32-page supplement which was mailed as part of the *New Republic* for May 16. Now that supplement has been reprinted for widespread distribution. Rodney Gilbert, in the New York *Herald Tribune,* calls it "a swell job."

Among the questions these experts asked each other was—how far has economic recovery progressed in Russia? What has happened to living standards? Has a class system developed? How about the prestige of the Soviet Communist Party? What is the ideological meaning of the attack on the West? Is the USSR likely to precipitate war.

Referring to the supplement, the New York *Post-Home News* wrote, "an impressive number of American authorities on the Soviet participated." To be sure! Included are Joseph Barnes, Abram Bergson, Cyril Black, Lewis Feuer, George Fischer, Louis Fischer, Andrew Gyorgy, John Hazard, Maurice Hindus, Alex Inkeles, Joseph P. Lash, Richard E. Lauterbach, Robert Magidoff, Harry Schwartz, Solomon M. Schwarz, E. J. Simmons, Michael Straight, Bertram D. Wolfe.

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get it, too. All the solid, constructive, dull and vital stuff the jittery papers have been too busy to bother with, Lilienthal obviously hopes will be turned into front-page news under a Congressional panel. If it works, it should do a lot to abate the national hysteria.

Last week Harvard economist Seymour Harris gave this thumbnail comparison of the US and British budgets that is worth cutting out and pondering. UK per-capita income $800, US $1,600; UK taxes account for 40 percent of its income, US only 25 percent. UK defense takes 7.5 percent of income, US 6.5 percent. UK social services take 8.5 percent of income, US only 4 percent. And yet it's charged that the US can't afford better schools, health and care!

The new British Labour Party platform, incidentally, includes a plank for the establishment of a governmental agency for testing consumers' goods and publicizing the findings. The state will do on a large scale what bodies like Consumers' Union do here in a necessarily restricted way. The US Bureau of Standards now makes such tests for the government—not for taxpayers and voters.

Notes. In that repository of strange things, the *Congressional Record Appendix*, a terrific battle is going on over the TVA; Senator Cordon (R, Ore.) inserted a series of 12 articles from the *Oregon Journal* critical of the TVA; Representative Mitchell (D, Wash.) slammed right back with 16 articles from the Portland *Oregonian* defending the TVA. The excitement is over whether the Northwest should have a CVA. . . . Not since the *World* folded has New York had such a prospect of a balanced liberal daily journal as now comes under Jimmy Wechsler, just made full editor of the New York *Post*. . . . Failure of the Paris parley will keep US military expenditures high; Soviet intransigence is about the only thing that would be able to get the arms lend-lease through an economy-minded Congress.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 120, NUMBER 23, ISSUE 1801, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 6, 1949 **New Republic**

THE NEW ATTACK ON LILIENTHAL

WHEN THE BOMB exploded at Los Alamos, Chester Barnard said: "This is the end of democracy."

He meant that militarization, centralization, secrecy and thought control would have to be extended so far that self-governing peoples would lose the power to shape their national lives.

Since then, thanks to a well-drawn act of Congress, a liberal administration, a civilian Atomic Energy Commission and a great public servant, David Lilienthal, atomic energy has developed rapidly, with no directly related advance in militarization, centralization or thought control. But the fundamental conflict of secrecy and democracy remains: "So fundamental," according to a new report prepared for the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, "as to raise the question of the adaptability of democratic institutions to an age of scientific barbarism."

The two great needs of representative government are competence in public officials and the guidance of informed public opinion. Of these, the second is the more important, for without guidance the ablest officials are incompetent to make vital decisions of a general nature.

So far, thanks to the superb ability of its best men, the Atomic Energy Commission has worked wonders, although it has lacked real guidance. It inherited from the Army's Manhattan Project a "tragic" situation, in Lilienthal's phrase. The production of weapons had barely started, the Hanford plutonium plant was close to breakdown. Research in basic and applied nuclear science was in the earliest stage; but the scientists, revolted by regimentation, were abandoning government service. "No real inventory of fissionable materials or of secret documents existed," according to Lilienthal. "The state of physical security was defective. The crucial supply of raw materials was tenuous."

The Commission began at once a long-range program to expand and secure the supply of uranium ore. It repaired and expanded the Hanford plant without any break in production. It raised yields and cut costs at Oak Ridge. It established centralized accounting and inventory controls. It created a new industry for radiation detection instruments. It introduced industrial management and collective bargaining. It advanced safety precautions and basic research. It made available important quantities of radioactive isotopes for medical research; and it carried the bomb from "a breadboard model," in Lilienthal's words, "to a service weapon."

At the same time the Commission, like any human organization, has made mistakes. It has delegated too much authority to local managers. It has made some poor choices in sites and some poor contracts. It has tolerated weak men, such as Admiral Samuel P. Gingrich, in key positions. It has tended to treat Congress lightly. These are the kinds of mistakes which public scrutiny rectifies and which secrecy perpetuates.

"The reasons for keeping things secret are very simple and clear and obvious," Dr. H. D. Smyth told the Joint Committee. "The reasons for not keeping things secret are more intangible but equally valid, or more valid. . . . Criticism is the lifeblood of scientific work . . . and of enterprise in a healthy democracy."

The TVA achieved unparalleled efficiency because it ran the gantlet of public debate. It made use even of irresponsible and vicious criticism to heighten its performance. But the aid of constructive criticism has been denied to the Atomic Energy Commission. Under pressure of the cold war we have become paranoids concerning safety. Still worse, we have equated safety with military security, and security with secrecy. We have insisted on absolute secrecy concerning atomic energy in the belief that the atom bomb is an absolute weapon. We have allowed the Commission only the watch-dog aid of the Joint Committee. The staff of the Joint Committee has traveled widely among the projects and worked hard. But its members, who belong to many other committees and are always overburdened, have been unable to keep up with the Commission's work. Many of the committee members have lacked the knowledge, the time and the skill to fulfill their function of public scrutiny. The committee further denied itself effectiveness by holding only closed sessions under its former chairman, Senator Hickenlooper.

Inevitably, in the sealed compartment of atomic-energy development, pressures have been rising. For two years the military has worked to get back control of atomic production. And the Republican high com-

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mand has insisted that the role of its members on the Joint Committee is to harass and discredit the Administration. During the 80th Congress a major effort was made to reënact the May-Johnson bill; and Lilienthal was confirmed for a reduced term only because his enemies chose to postpone the showdown until after their anticipated election victory. Now the attack is on again, and Americans, normally resistant to preying bacilli, are vulnerable because they naturally suspect what they are not permitted to know.

The genesis of the new attack is low and mean. It was opened in a series of broadcasts by Fulton Lewis Jr. It was advanced by the New York *Daily News*, which published the U-235 story, planted by either a high admiral or by a member of Hickenlooper's staff. Senator Wherry then demanded an investigation of Lilienthal, and Hickenlooper complied with the wild charge of "incredible mismanagement." At once the entire Hearst press called for removal of Lilienthal for actions "bordering on treason." And Senator Cain raised the cry for the return of atomic energy to military control. In these ways confidence is shaken and chaos created. By cheap political smears a grave and proper issue is reduced to a witchhunt and a sideshow.

The charges against the Commission are sensational and sweeping—the complaints are trivial.

The first complaint is mismanagement of the fellowship program, the program whose purpose, according to Lilienthal, is "to uncover and to develop great and rare talents in the fundamental sciences." Because the Commission believed that the federal government should not "meddle in education," it turned the program over to the National Research Council, a body of eminent scientists, created by Woodrow Wilson, which for 25 years has awarded fellowships for the government and for corporations and foundations. Under its standard procedure the Council judged applicants according to recommendations of university professors and screened for their political views only those engaged in secret work. Thus, one of the 60,000 Americans working for the AEC happened to be a Communist. His work was in the field of general relativity; his activity had no strategic significance of any kind. And he would never have been accepted for AEC project work.

Yet conservatives on the Joint Committee were outraged that the government should pay for the education of Communists. They declared that science could well rely on "100-percent loyal American boys." This view was violently protested by Dr. D. Newton Richards, president of the National Academy of Sciences. Dr. Alan Gregg of the Rockefeller Foundation told the committee that asking scientists to work for the government under political control was as certain to succeed as a dinner invitation which requested that a Wasserman certificate be attached to the letter of acceptance. Lilienthal called the conservatives' decision "a very terrible turn in the road." And he is right. If the government is forbidden to pay for the general education of post-graduate students who are Communists, then what about university students, what about high-school and grade-school children—where do we stop? A relatively harmless compromise has been accepted by which all AEC fellows will take a non-Communist oath. But the new atmosphere of intimidation will lower scientific morale.

The second complaint against the Commission follows the temporary misplacement of 37 grams of U-235. A great deal of equipment had been moved from an old to a new site in the Argonne Laboratories. One container shipped was not checked for each item on arrival. The loss was not discovered at once, and when it was, the FBI and the Joint Committee were not informed during the recheck of hundreds of thousands of bottles in the laboratories.

Here, negligence followed the natural unwillingness of scientists to forsake research work in order to check inventories. A perfect inventory check in any case would be impossible. Uranium-235, as an unstable element, changes its form, its weight, its size, as it is changed from powder to liquid to metal. Since the degree of enrichment of U-235 varies in each form, no single analysis for checking the true amount is possible. A real check could be made at only one laboratory at a time, which would disrupt all work at all other centers. While the present inventory system can be improved, no foolproof system is possible, and no basic issue is involved. If, at worst, a few grams of uranium find their way to Russia, they are of real value only if no progress at all has been made there in U-235 production in the last three years.

These are the charges against Lilienthal. And because they are so trivial and misleading, Lilienthal has demanded a prompt, full and open investigation of the entire atomic-energy program. In this he is supported by Senator McMahon, who has withstood endless abuse for urging that the area of secrecy concerning atomic energy be drastically reduced. Both McMahon and Lilienthal intend that what began as a campaign of character assassination shall become a much-needed public review.

Lilienthal's enemies are opposing a real investigation. They want secret hearings, from which rumors can creep and smears can be spread. They want to

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limit the scope of the inquiry to gutter-press "revelations" which demagogues can use to kindle the flame of anti-Communist hysteria. But if Brien McMahon holds firm, as we believe he will, the world will be given its first accounting of the development of its most critical discovery.

It should be a thrilling story. It will provide clear vindication and new praise for the Commission and its chairman if the curtain of secrecy is lifted; it should never be allowed to fall.

The purpose of the Commission is still to produce weapons. The payoff is the stockpile of weapons. And until the government is willing to declare what the stockpile is, secrecy will always prevent an accurate review by Congress and the people of the Commission's work. The progress in biology and medicine, the production of reactors, the distribution of isotopes for non-military work, are all matters that can and should benefit from open discussion. Open hearings on these phases of the program will safeguard democracy and encourage the use of atomic energy for peaceful ends.

THE WEEK

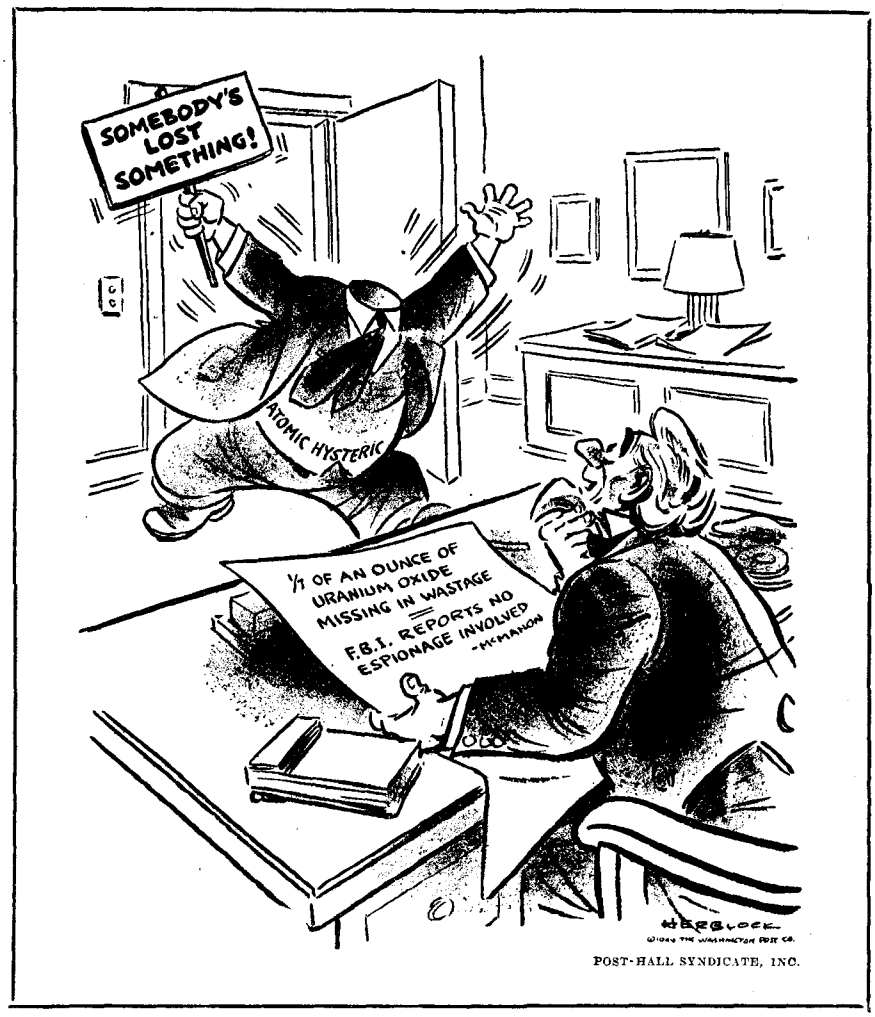
TRUMAN PLOWS AHEAD

News reports that the Truman Administration has agreed to run up the white flag on July 31 prove to have been considerably exaggerated. The anti-Fair Deal press rushed to headline a White House interview with Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas, quoting Lucas as saying that he and the President would be satisfied to quit after only three more "must" bills cleared this session of Congress: repeal of Taft-Hartley, ratification of the North Atlantic Pact and extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act. The rest of the President's program, the stories said, was to be shelved until next year.

Senator Lucas and/or the press seem to have misrepresented the White House position on adjournment. The President's private reaction to the news reports that he had agreed to stop fighting on July 31 was immediate and angry. He telephoned Lucas personally to set the bumbling Majority Leader straight. When he agreed that it was desirable to wind up this first session of the 81st Congress by August if possible, he was not agreeing to give up on his program, the President made it clear to Lucas.

Speaker Rayburn believes that the House can put through the major part of the Fair Deal program, including a new labor law, federal aid to education, housing and extension of the minimum wage, and still adjourn by July 31. If Senator Lucas can perform as well in the Senate with relation to the rest of this agenda—the housing and federal-aid-to-education bills already having cleared the Upper House—the July 31 closing date will be feasible. If Lucas can't deliver as much as the President feels is required by July 31, he will be told to keep the Senate in session until he does.

Those intimates of Truman who understand him best say that his state of mind is the opposite of that attributed to him in Scott Lucas' original announcement. The President thinks



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that his policy of firm friendliness with Congress is improving the legislative climate. The recent defeat of attempted appropriation cuts in the Senate and the Administration's success in restoring committee cuts in the ECA appropriation bill on the floor of the House offer some proof of this. Assuming that action is taken on a substitute Taft-Hartley Act before an August adjournment, the only other Administration promise which demands attention prior to the beginning of the second session of the 81st next January is the civil-rights program. President Truman must, and reportedly still intends to, convene a special session in the late fall with civil rights as its main purpose.

SECRETARY MATTHEWS' PAST

There is one revealing source of information about the almost unknown new Secretary of the Navy, Francis P. Matthews of Omaha, Nebraska. It is the reports of the Committee on Socialism and Communism of the United States Chamber of Commerce, of which Matthews was chairman during 1946 and 1947. These reports indicate remarkably little friendship and respect for the Truman Administration, maintain that many of its policies were made in Moscow, and strongly suggest that Matthews may prove to be sharply out of step with many White House positions.

The Chamber of Commerce reports which bear Matthews' signature, titled "Communist Infiltration in the United States" and "Communists within the Government," contain these charges among others:

¶ That the Potsdam Agreement was palmed off on President Truman by a handful of influential officials in the Treasury, controlled by Communists, who thereby succeeded in imposing a "harsh peace" on Germany.

¶ That "a similar situation existed in regard to American policy on Argentina and China. In the former case, pressure groups denounced the Peron government and successfully urged American intervention."

¶ That in China we were guilty of "a cynical betrayal of trust" and "a subordination of American policy to Russian aspirations."

¶ That the "penetration" by Communists into "strategic positions" is even more important than their numbers. "Thus, highly placed persons in the Bureau of the Budget have an unbelievable influence in rewarding or punishing 'coöperative' or 'recalcitrant' government departments, and in eliminating appropriations for national defense and security." ("There is evidence of a shrewd ring which keeps informed about important openings and has its candidates for such positions. In this way, relatively few Communists have been able to wield considerable power and to do much damage.")

¶ That "the Administration promised Stalin to secure a favorable world opinion for the Soviet Union."

The reports also criticized the OSS, the Supreme Court and the Justice Department, and mentioned Communists in "dangerous positions" in the FCC and the Labor and Commerce Departments.

The choice of Francis Matthews was a purely political one, made by Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath after President Truman had grown disgusted with the job of finding a suitable man for the spot. Given the requirement that the successor to Secretary John Sullivan must be an Irish Catholic, McGrath thinks he made a shrewd choice in Matthews, a for-Truman-before-Philadelphia man, a generous party contributor, and a native of a key Midwestern farm state. Ideas apparently did not count.

LOBBYISTS ON THE GRILL

Congress is preparing to investigate the largest and most lucrative industry in Washington—lobbying. The House has passed a bill which sets up a 14-man joint Senate-House committee to investigate lobbying activities and to recommend ways of tightening up the 1946 lobbying law. The Judiciary

(Continued on page 10)

A LETTER

Some of the greatest nuclear physicists in America today, including Robert Bacher, Samuel Allison, Edward U. Condon, Lee Du Bridge, Norris Bradbury, E. O. Lawrence and Henry D. Smyth, began their careers with the aid of fellowships granted by the National Research Council. No questions were asked them of their political views. Now it is proposed that the fellowships be screened for "potential subversives." In protest against this action, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, once a fellow himself and Director of the Los Alamos Project, wrote the following letter to Senator Brien McMahon, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy:

"Dear Senator McMahon:

"I have learned of the recent discussions about the Commission's fellowship program, which raises the question whether candidates for fellowships supported by funds from the Commission should or should not be subject to investigation and clearance procedures. . . . The question at issue clearly does not present some of the grave and often tragic aspects that the maintenance of security on secret, technical work has brought so prominently to the forefront. For this reason, I have come to believe that we can and should deal with it unequivocally.

"The present situation, as I understand it, is this: The Atomic Energy Commission has advanced funds to the National Research Council, and has asked the National Research Council to use these for the granting of fellowships. In making this request, the Commission has asked the Council to pursue its traditional methods of selecting fellows. In this selection, considerations of scientific and intellectual competence play a decisive part. Considerations of character are not excluded; but, in the past, no effort has been made by the National Research Council to determine the political

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FROM THE CHIEF OF LOS ALAMOS

views, sympathies, or associations of candidates. My understanding is that the commission has accepted this procedure and has endorsed it. With the basic wisdom of this decision, I fully agree.

"In considering the issue, we need first to ask ourselves what effects we can anticipate if from time to time young men and women who are Communists, or who have Communistic sympathies or associations, are in fact granted fellowships. The fellowships are of course in fields where no access to restricted data will be needed or granted, and there can be no question of any jeopardy to security. What is more, there is no direct commitment, and no implication, that recipients of the fellowships will later be engaged in secret work. The Commission does not require this, nor do the research fellows. As a matter of fact, only a small fraction of the scientists of the country can or should be engaged in such secret work. . . .

"Thus one must ask the question whether it is a proper charge upon the federal government, and upon the Atomic Energy Commission in particular, to support the training and research of men who will not be directly involved in the work of the Commission. It is the Commission's opinion, and this is an opinion fully shared by the General Advisory Committee, that the answer to this question is in the affirmative. For basic work in science, in aspects which are not and may not be under the direct control of any one federal agency, is nevertheless a major source of our scientific progress, of invention, discovery and technical leadership.

"There are many examples of discoveries basic to the present work of the Atomic Energy Commission which were in fact made by Communists or Communist sympathizers. Of these many examples, we may cite a famous one: The major—one might almost say the only—present peaceful application of atomic energy rests on the preparation and use of artificial radioactive materials, which were discovered by Joliot, who is a Communist, and by his wife, who is a Communist sympathizer. It would be folly to suppose that the United States would be the stronger, or our science and industry the more vigorous, if this discovery had not been made. It would be contrary to all experience to suppose that only those who throughout their lives have held conformist political views would make the great discoveries in the future. The people and the government of the United States have a stake in scientific discovery and invention; and it is for this stake, rather than as an act of benevolence toward the recipients of the grants-in-aid, that one must look for justification for having a fellowship program at all.

"The argument given above would seem to me a cogent ground for maintaining the Commission's policy, even if the determination of loyalty and reliability could be made by the most straightforward and satisfactory methods. As you well know, the actual procedures which have been employed, and which perhaps must be employed, in order to establish the loyalty of an applicant, are far from simple and far from satisfactory. They involve secret, investigative programs which make difficult the evaluation and criticism of evidence; they take into consideration questions of opinion, sympathy and association in a way which is profoundly repugnant to the American tradition of freedom; they determine at best whether at a given time an individual does have sympathy with the Communist program and association with Communists, and throw little light on the more relevant question of whether the man will in later life be a loyal American. It would be foolish to suppose that a man against whom no derogatory information can be found at the age of 20 was by virtue of this guaranteed loyal at the age of 30. It would be foolish to suppose that a young man sympathetic to and associated with Communists in his student days would by that fact alone become disloyal, and a potential traitor. It is basic to science and to democracy alike that men can learn by error.

"My colleagues and I attach special importance to restricting to the utmost the domain in which special secret investigations must be conducted. For they inevitably bring with them a morbid preoccupation with conformity, and a widespread fear of ruin, that is a more pervasive threat precisely because it arises from secret sources. Thus, even if it were determined, and I do not believe that it should be, that on the whole the granting of fellowships, or, more generally, of federal support, to Communist sympathizers, were unwise, one would have to balance against this argument the high cost in freedom that is entailed by the investigative mechanisms necessary to discover and to characterize such Communist sympathizers. This is what we all have in mind in asking that these intrinsically repugnant security measures be confined to situations where real issues of security do in fact exist and where, because of this, the measures, though repugnant, may at least be intelligible.

"You and I have had occasion to discuss in the past how central a place the control of atomic energy occupies in the preservation of the basic freedoms of inquiry, freedoms essential at once for scientific progress and for the preservation of our democratic institutions. It is because I believe that the issue which has been raised here bears directly on the maintenance of freedom of inquiry that I hold it so important that it be wisely resolved.

"With every warm good wish,

J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER."

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(Continued from page 8)
Committee has agreed on a companion bill in the Senate.

During the first quarter of 1949, lobby groups admitted spending over $2 million—a record for any similar period since the law went into effect. The 258 organizations registered this year spent $303,374 more than was spent by 191 groups during the same period of 1948. The Committee for Constitutional Government, newspaper publisher Frank Gannett's mouthpiece for his unique version of free enterprise, led the list with $149,000 spent during the first quarter to lobby against federal expenditures for education, housing, health and social security. The National Association of Electric Companies reported an outlay of $136,509. The two most vigorous opponents of the President's national health-insurance program—the National Physicians Committee and the American Medical Association—have totaled $246,217 for lobbying this year.

There has been a good deal of confusion over the application of the present law. It provides that individuals or organizations whose "principal purpose" is the defeat or passage of legislation must register, but many organizations, because of this obscure language, have refused to do so. Another point in question is the method of reporting expenditures. Some groups simply file the amount of salaries paid their lobbyists; others file total expenses; and some merely report amounts allocable to lobbying.

As the law now stands, lobbyists are supposed to say what legislation they are employed to support or oppose. Several have simply said, "I support and oppose the following legislation" without declaring which side they take.

Senator Kilgore, author of the Senate bill, has said that legitimate lobbies have nothing to fear from a Congressional investigation. "The Constitution spells out the right of petition," says Kilgore, "and Congress will do nothing to impair this right. But, certainly the framers of the Constitution did not expect lobbies to become the third house of Congress."

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Well before the Soviets' Andrei Vishinsky began arguing in Paris in favor of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany, columns of Soviet soldiers had started marching from Eastern Germany across Poland to Russia. Since this was the first movement of Soviet armed forces eastward instead of westward during the three years of the Cold War, it was an indication of the extent of the sudden and recent improvement in the general international situation. And since American, British and French troops were not being pulled back at the same time, it was also intended to suggest to world public opinion that the Soviets were more responsible than the Westerners for the break in tension and for the removal (or postponement) of the threat of war.

Of course Marshal Stalin really wasn't taking any serious military risks in ordering the withdrawal: it is common knowledge in Western Europe that a group of Soviet armies on war footing, under the command of Marshal Rokossovsky, are stationed close to the Polish frontier; as a matter of fact, most of these forces are believed to have been moved onto Polish soil. The purpose and the timing of the Soviet troop movement were psychological and political. Despite official denials in Washington, the story of an advance Soviet-American deal on reduction of forces in Germany was widely published in Western Europe, and because of Franco-British nervousness over the Soviet-American bilateral talks, fairly widely believed too.

This was the story about the so-called Kennan plan—the reduction of occupation forces to four "islands" at Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg and Stettin. The psychological effect of the Soviet military withdrawal was (or was intended to be) a counter-denial to the American denial; Stalin went through the motions of suggesting that some sort of deal had in fact been made and that he was living up to his part without awaiting the results of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Whatever the results, the Soviets would have propaganda material to use in Germany: if the Council cut down occupation forces, Stalin would be able to claim credit; if the Council disappointed the Germans, Stalin would be able to argue that the Westerners were responsible despite his best efforts and his earnest of good will and faith.

On the political side, the issue involved is the ratification of the North Atlantic Pact. The motives of Moscow's new appeasement policy are basically economic, not political; the Kremlin still hopes to prevent the Pact from going into effect, and if ratification can't be prevented or postponed, at least to increase the number of negative votes in the various national legislatures that still have to pass on the matter. In connection with the appeasement policy itself, Enrico Altavilla, the well-informed Stockholm correspondent of the extreme-Right Rome newspaper *Tempo*, offers the views of a man he describes as "one of the most celebrated political exiles from Russia" to whom the Swedish government has given the right of sanctuary on condition that he refrain from writing or speaking under his own name.

Under a pseudonym this man published three months ago in the *Dagens Nyehter* an article predicting with remarkable accuracy the steps which Stalin later took to resume negotiations with the Americans. Now he says that Stalin, in making an arrangement with the Americans, is deliberately undertaking a great gamble. Altavilla quotes the exile as saying that Stalin is doing this because of the extremely bad economic and political situation in the Soviet satellite countries and because of "the too favorable" situation in

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China, where Mao Tse-tung's victory imposes "a pause for digestion." The exile went on:

My old friend Stalin has finally become convinced that Bukharin and Varga were right—Bukharin when he contradicted Lenin's theories to predict that a united front of all the world's capitalist countries against the Soviet Union was possible, Varga when he maintained that capitalism would be able to avoid the grave economic depression on which the Bolsheviks counted in order to start a world revolution.

Stalin's purpose at Paris is to create a united and strong Germany that can in the future fit into his game as a means of provoking controversies among the Western allies. He hopes to maneuver France against England on the German question. He must do all he can to break the world anti-Soviet front. In Germany Stalin can play the game easily, partly because he controls the Communist Left, partly because it is only a question of a short time before Germany is once more independent, and before men like Schumacher and Adenauer will lose the political prestige they have until now enjoyed. I do not believe the German leaders are capable of a middle-of-the-road centrist policy. They will swing either far to the Right or far to the Left, and Stalin is ready to meet them at the end of either of these two roads.... Russia in undertaking the great gamble is also mounting a tiger from which she will not be able to dismount.

This quotation, it must be noted, comes from the ace correspondent of an Italian newspaper of the far Right. Nevertheless, the idea is widely held in all parties in all Western European countries that the Germans have given no proof since the end of the World War II that they are more capable of middle-of-the-road democracy than they were in the years between the two wars.

If the United States Government accepts the opposite idea, there is much work ahead to *make* it the right one. Wish-fulfillment thinking or acting in Germany on the part of America will reduce the risks of Stalin's great gamble; the naïve assumption on the part of the United States that the Germans are ready for an American-type Fair Deal will play into Stalin's hands in the coming battle for Germany. And as for the Soviet exile's metaphor, two can ride a tiger. PERCY WINNER

ROOSEVELT COLLEGE GROWS UP

The school that honestly practises racial equality is graduating its first four-year class and being baited for democracy

by Robert Lasch

THIS MONTH three young Americans—James H. Andrews, Donald C. Ahrens and Bernard A. Abrams—will be graduated from Roosevelt College in Chicago. They are members of the first senior class to go all the way through Roosevelt's four-year curriculum. Roosevelt College is just four years old.

No college in America would think of denying admission to Andrews, Ahrens or Abrams because their names begin with "A." But many colleges would close the door to Abrams because he is Jewish, and to Andrews because he is a Negro. For four successful years Roosevelt College, whose 6,000 students throng the historic corridors of Chicago's Auditorium Hotel on Michigan Avenue, has insisted that Andrews and Abrams have exactly the same right to a college education as Ahrens.

Roosevelt College meant it so sincerely that no quotas in any guise are established for racial groups of minorities; meant it so firmly that no applying student is asked any question bearing on race or origin; meant it so unequivocally that its records actually do not show how many Negroes, how many Jews, how many Nisei or members of any other group compose its student population. Roosevelt College takes the novel view that one young person is as good as another, and that therefore race, creed and color are irrelevant even in the college statistics.

That this elementary exercise in democracy should excite comment is a measure of the distance the nation still has to go before it attains democracy in education. The other side of the story is that Roosevelt's example, standing unswayed through four crucial years, is beginning to leave its mark on colleges throughout the country.

Because Roosevelt has worked at full human equality and proved that the theory can be successful in practice, other colleges are finding it more and more difficult to justify the racial and religious quotas which they have long imposed upon their student bodies. Partly because Roosevelt crystallizes in its own experience the nationwide movement toward equality, one college after another is now quietly dropping from its admissions policy the racial and religious considerations which frequently reserve their opportunities for the "best people."

Wellesley recently announced that its application blanks would no longer carry the questions by which a prospective student's race or creed can be assayed. The University of Illinois Medical College and the University of Chicago have abandoned the requirement that applicants submit photographs. Several colleges in Ohio have embarked upon a more liberal admissions policy. New York State has enacted into law the principle of non-discriminatory education. The president of the Junior College of Connecticut, soon to become the four-year University of Bridgeport, expressed the attitude of educators all over the country when he recently cited Roosevelt College as an example of the democratic principles which Bridgeport hopes to realize in its own community.

No doubt this movement would have taken place without Roosevelt College. Neither is there any doubt that Roosevelt's experience has accelerated it. As a laboratory tests the claims made for industrial products, so Roosevelt has been able to provide

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demonstrated answers to the many excuses and rationalizations that are drummed up to justify discrimination.

For example, take the canard that a kind of Gresham's Law operates in education—the theory that unreserved devotion to a policy of non-discrimination must lead to the taking over of the college by one or more minority groups. Even without exact figures, Roosevelt administrators know that in four years there has been no undue shift in the racial composition of the student body. Negroes and Jews are naturally more heavily represented than their proportion to the population warrants—since so many other colleges still exclude them. But minority representation has not significantly expanded since the college opened its doors.

Or take the assumption, frequently advanced, that a college which declines to discriminate while others continue to discriminate must encounter serious administrative or disciplinary problems as a consequence of being a free island in a society of prejudice. It just isn't so, they tell you at Roosevelt.

The college does not pretend to have eliminated prejudice. That is not its aim. Officials readily admit that young people who have been raised in an atmosphere of discrimination and who find discrimination widely practised in the life around them will not instantly throw off all habits and influences to which they have been subject. In the cafeteria, in the elevators, one can detect an almost automatic self-segregation, which tends to separate the students into self-conscious racial groups. Equality is not realized overnight. But nobody expected that it would be.

What Roosevelt does is to deny official recognition to inequality. And it has found that no unmanageable administrative problems arise from that simple decision. There is no evidence of any unusual social problems, lowered academic standards, or irresponsibility. The college may have more than its portion of racial "agitation"—that is, active and vocal interest in the spread of democracy throughout Chicago and throughout America. It would be surprising if this were not so in a college conspicuously dedicated to that cause. The point is that the agitating fringe does not interfere with the main business of educating 6,000 young people.

From a nucleus of 57, the teaching staff has grown to more than 300 members. About one-third come from racial, national or religious groups that are subject to discrimination. None was hired who had any reservations on the equality principle. Has this meant an undue preoccupation with the race problem? In three years the Dean of Faculty has received only one complaint that a faculty member was preaching on the subject in an irrelevant manner. The curriculum is, for the most part, standard. A Negro professor does an excellent job teaching chemistry; one who happens to be Jewish is an outstanding teacher of sociology; a Catholic teaches physics with high competence. The conclusion is that an inter-racial educational philosophy does not necessarily involve disproportionate emphasis upon sociological problems. Rather it channels the entire educational process toward the ideal of individual merit in both teachers and students.

Among the students, there is no question that racial relations are a live issue. On several occasions student groups have picketed employers who practice discrimination in employment. Students, along with faculty members, have taken an active part with other community groups in combating discrimination in housing or other areas of civic life. Last year the Student Council demanded revision of a history outline book which contained a disparaging reference to Negro morals. A lively row broke out when the college paper accused the director of the college theatre of discriminating in casting. The charge was found to be unjustified, and a public apology was tendered to the director. It turned out that he had merely insisted on casting Negroes in Negro parts.

As you walk about Roosevelt College you have little doubt that racial groups here are as thoroughly integrated as they could be, given the condition of American society at large. All college parties and dances are unsegregated, and members of all groups seem to accept the others with complete naturalness. On the other hand, student politicians who sought preferment solely on the basis of their race have been firmly rebuffed by the student body.

Perhaps one reason for the workability of democracy at Roosevelt is the fact that its administration as well as its student body functions on democratic principles. The college had its roots in revolt. It was born in 1945, when President Edward J. Sparling of the Central YMCA College in Chicago declined to accept a trustees' demand for the imposition of racial quotas to hold down Negro representation. Bucking the trustees, Dr. Sparling had an overwhelming majority of both faculty and student body with him. So the president, the faculty and the students abdicated, leaving the "Y" trustees without a college. Roosevelt came into being with scarcely an interval.

As with all persons who fight discrimination, President Sparling discovered that many of his enemies were to be found among the community's "best people." He reasoned that one potent source of discrimination in American colleges is the socio-economic group which controls them. One study shows that proprietary, legal and managerial occupations represented 73.6 percent of university boards of control in 1930, when the last survey was made. This social class, of course, has no monopoly on prejudice. Nevertheless Dr. Sparling was convinced that the quota system and other forms of discrimination are at least related to the type of upper-middle-class mores which have dominated American schools in this country. He resolved that Roosevelt's trustees should represent not this class alone, but a cross-section of the community as a whole.

Of the 21 members of the Board of Trustees, five are elected by faculty members from the faculty. The others

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represent business, labor and the professions; they include Catholics and Protestants, Negroes and Jews. With this organization no segment of the board controls academic and administrative processes according to its own ideas. Roosevelt is probably the only college in the country with white students that has Negro trustees. It is one of the very few that have given labor a voice on their boards of control.

Economically, the college may not have faced its most rigorous test as yet. Eighty percent of its support comes from tuition fees; in four years contributions have totaled less than $1 million. As a city college, it has a high proportion of students (roughly, two-thirds) who work their way. Thus a depression, deflating both job opportunities and tuition payments, could throw Roosevelt's finances into jeopardy. But so far, so good. The college has been gaining students while others showed a downward trend. Much, though of course not all, of the initial hostility with which Chicago's business community viewed this venture into "radicalism" has disappeared.

Roosevelt has come of age. Not only is it turning out its first four-year class in June; but in April it achieved the distinction of being investigated, along with the University of Chicago, by an Illinois legislative committee on the hunt for subversive activities. The committee found nothing worth a second glance at either institution. The Communists, in fact, long ago gave up Roosevelt as a bad job after their efforts to dominate it had failed.

The only subversive activity at Roosevelt College is democracy—real democracy, the kind you can live, not the kind you just talk. It is pioneering, courageously and without compromise, in the field laid out for all colleges by the President's Commission on Higher Education, which said: "Colleges have a unique opportunity to offer an experience in tolerance and understanding which grows out of democratic relations with students from various national and religious backgrounds. Colleges should become laboratories of interrace and interfaith fellowship."

THE BIG FOUR MEET AGAIN

The first hands are being played at Paris in a diplomatic poker game that can resolve problems from the Ruhr to Shanghai

by Percy Winner

PARIS

THE TECHNICAL ISSUE between the Soviets and the Americans at the meeting here of the Council of Foreign Ministers is "Back to Potsdam" against "On from Bonn." This seemingly irreconcilable contrast of timing and orientation was brought out clearly from the very first session in the American Duchess of Talleyrand's palace of pink marble. Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky wanted the agenda headed by consideration of four-power control of Germany and was contented to settle for making "problems of German unity" point one in the order of business only after assurance that control would be regarded as the basic element in the task of unification.

Translated from the highfalutin double talk which wasted much time during the first week of the conference, Potsdam v. Bonn means the primacy of control mechanisms v. the primacy of political principles; Secretary of State Dean Acheson said that four-power control would depend on whether agreement was reachable on the economic and political principles that form the basis of a united Germany, and Vishinsky said that all subsequent agreements would depend on the control mechanism.

This issue was stated again and again in dozens of different ways during the whole week of slow, careful and, for the most part, polite shadow boxing. At times the talking resembled leisurely didactic debate—doctrinaire, theoretical, even professorial—between opposing world outlooks more than a desperately urgent struggle to solve the practical problem of statesmanship which has split the world into two opposing camps. Vishinsky subordinated politics to economics because he said only economic organs existed at present in Germany, and the Soviets, eager to start building their house, wanted American materials. This of course denied, at least by implication, the existence of Bonn and other political instrumentalities in the Western zones, so that Acheson and his Western colleagues put strong stress on the political elements.

Vishinsky argued as if economic linkage between the Eastern and Western occupying powers were identical with the economic and political unity of the whole German people. Acheson, with equal lack of realism—or perhaps frankness—took the stand that the democratic principles set forth theoretically in the Bonn Constitution accurately reflected reliable possibilities in the German people.

Vishinsky quoted statistics to prove that the economic situation in the Western zones was bad, while he boasted of progress in the Eastern zone, asserting that major industries reached in 1949 the production levels of 1936, despite the cutting off of raw materials from the West. Why, then, the Westerners asked, did half a million Eastern Germans flee yearly into the Western zones? American spokesmen frankly called this "skirmishing."

The fact that the Americans also are concerned deeply with getting down to the brass tacks of the major economic issues is illustrated by the role that Governor Thomas E. Dewey is playing during his visit here. Among a number of important private conversations he had was one with General Bethouart, French commander in Austria. After this talk the Frenchman got privately in touch with the Russians here. There is good reason to believe the Russians offered to give the Americans full political control in Austria in exchange for American willingness

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to extend Marshall Plan aid to Austria and to allow Czechoslovakia to benefit from this assistance.

Issues of substance involved in this meeting were also made clear enough, though they were touched on only obliquely during the long-winded discussion of the first of the four points on the agenda.

These issues boil down to two interrelated questions: what price, in terms of political concessions, are the Soviets prepared to pay for the economic prize of getting some sort of share in the control of the Ruhr; will the Americans accept any political offer whatsoever, even the seemingly unlikely one of Soviet consent to extension of the Bonn Constitution, with its at least theoretical Western libertarian-democratic political methods and intentions toward the Eastern zone?

From the start there was little doubt that the Soviets were most concerned over four-power control because they want to play a part in the future of Germany's vast industrial potential in the Ruhr-Rhineland on the assumption that this constellation of economic power will determine Germany's, perhaps even Europe's, political future. It was also obvious, if only through the attitude of studied restraint of such formerly bitter "Russia Lasters" as Charles Bohlen, that the ways for this conference had been well greased by previous negotiations.

This was true of all delegations except the British. There were strong indications that Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin was seriously worried over the implications of a possible compromise on the Ruhr between the Americans and the Soviets and that some of the empty wrangling by Acheson could be explained by a desire to help Bevin protect his political fences at home and also satisfy American anti-Soviet public opinion (there were rumors that Acheson had made certain promises to Vandenberg and Connally). Nevertheless there were abundant signs that neither the Americans nor the Soviets will really permit the meeting to end in failure if humanly

DRAWING BY MAX BRANDEL

avoidable, hence the absence of progress in first days should not be taken too seriously. Vishinsky mentioned the Ruhr in presenting his government's formal proposals at the first business session, declaring that the Russians always felt the Ruhr was an "inalienable part of Germany" and now believed it should be under the control of the four powers, with the neighboring nations that had suffered from German aggression—Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Poland, Czechoslovakia—"consulted" and German economic bodies "represented."

The Russian proposal read:

1. In order to achieve the economic and political unity of Germany:

A. To reëstablish the activity of the Control Council for Germany on its previous basis as the body called upon to exercise the supreme power in Germany.

B. To reëstablish the inter-Allied Kommandatura of Berlin for the coordination of all civic measures for the administration of Berlin and to insure the normal life of Berlin as a whole.

2. Considering, in addition, that the economic and political unity of Germany is impossible of achievement without the creation of a single German central body, within whose competence would come economic and governmental questions which have significance for all Germany, to recognize it as essential:

A. To create, on the basis of German economic organs existing at present in the Eastern zone and in the Western zones, an all-German state council. This council would serve as the economic and administrative center for Germany. The supreme power would be reserved to the Control Council.

B. To reëstablish the all-Berlin Magistrat. The question of a date for elections for an all-Berlin Magistrat would be referred for consideration to the inter-Allied Kommandatura of Berlin.

Acheson found this "disappointing" because it meant to him retreat to conditions largely responsible for the Western decision to create Trizonia; French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman and Bevin echoed his views then, as later the Briton consistently put the greatest stress on pessimism, even defeatism. Acheson also found the Vishinsky proposals negativistic. Nevertheless one element of the proposals was not entirely negative, at least in that it suggested the direction of the Moscow line: though elections have just been held in the Soviet sector of Berlin, Moscow expressed a willingness to hold new elections for the All-Berlin City Council under four-power control. The point is the Russians are willing to pay in the form if not the substance of political democracy for what they want economically. Later the Soviets spelled out their proposals: (1) the economic and political unity of Germany is impossible without the creation of a central German organ such as an All-German State Council; (2) this is needed for dealing with questions affecting Germany as a whole; (3) the Council can be based on the existing economic entities of all zones, such as the Western Bizonal Economic Committee; (4) the Council to be a state governmental body subject only to control by the four powers.

The Westerners, especially Schuman and Bevin, hacked away at these proposals, putting questions about the future of existing political entities in the Western zones which Vishinsky either parried or ducked. Unable to

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mention Bonn because he denied by implication its existence, the Russian Minister defended a return to Potsdam by attacking the Trizonal Control Agreement and the Washington Pact, which he maintained not only copied the Potsdam principle of unanimity but gave America dominance through something he called "mononimity." By saying, "If no one is to dictate among equals, no one is to dominate," Vishinsky plainly suggested that he wanted an equal share in the Ruhr.

How much the Russians are ready to pay politically probably won't emerge unless and until the Americans give a clear hint that they are willing to put the question of a Soviet share in the Ruhr on the diplomatic market. Thus far Westerners, except for proposing extension of Bonn to all Germany and insisting on safeguarding political institutions created in the Western zones, have been themselves negativistic, apparently stalling partly for domestic British and American reasons, partly until they learn the full extent of Russian economic difficulties at home and in the satellites, which apparently play a large role in Russia's new "appeasement in the West" attitude. While the Westerners offered many excellent reasons for rejecting the Soviet proposals, they didn't themselves offer anything constructive.

Two devices for Soviet participation in Western Germany's economic life already have been discussed, though outside the Foreign Ministers' Conference. Hints of the existence of other contacts between the Americans and the Soviets are so plain that the authoritative newspaper *Monde* remarked: "Parallel with doctrinal discussion, the Foreign Ministers' negotiations may be developing behind the scenes and what appears on stage is doubtless the reflection of what is happening backstage." One of these devices is a plan for naming Soviet "observers" in the Ruhr authority; this was denied by the Quai d'Orsay, but with suspicious vehemence.

Another device is utilization of the Economic Commission for Europe as a transitional instrument, the Soviets making large concessions to the thesis "On from Bonn" in exchange for a de-facto share in control of the Ruhr. The fact that ECE is a United Nations body would make such a compromise amount to "On from San Francisco" instead of "Back to Potsdam."

It is far too soon to judge whether either of these devices or some other formula will come up as a possible compromise here. There is every prospect that negotiations will continue for some weeks, Acheson returning to Washington in mid-June, leaving Philip Jessup to continue what began at Lake Success with Jacob Malik.

In a sense this is the first of a series of partial peace conferences, and though Germany and Austria are the only subjects publicized on the agenda, talks here at the conference and outside reflect a play of political forces on the whole world scene. At the opening session Vishinsky brought up the Japanese treaty, suggesting that a future gathering of Foreign Ministers could be called to take up Asiatic problems. This was only a feeler, yet it was obvious all week long that Shanghai is presently not many diplomatic miles from Paris. Shortly before coming to Paris, Acheson announced agreement with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's stand that problems arising from the impact of Communism on Asiatic colonialism needed to be faced before a Pacific pact could be considered.

If the highest financial circles in Paris, London and Rome are to be trusted, the effect of the Communist victory in China is already full steam ahead for private Western capital. Regardless of the official attitude in Washington (perhaps with Washington's consent, even encouragement), it is being said that big American companies are preparing to do business with Mao Tse-tung behind whatever façade of political non-coöperation the State Department may find it wise to erect. While Nehru apparently intends to recognize Mao Tse-tung, perhaps after an advance toward Canton, the Americans sent a note a fortnight ago to twelve nations fronting the Pacific and Atlantic requesting that they withhold recognition until consultation at a general Asiatic conference.

This means that Washington is calling in all cards for the big game, because the Soviets as sponsors, though not bosses, of Mao Tse-tung have aces to play in Asiatic bargaining—for instance, the status of Hong Kong, the French Indo-Chinese border and the allocation of economic opportunities in China. High cards also lie on the table at the palace of pink marble, waiting utilization in European bargaining, as well. But thus far they are still lying face down. Other Soviet cards have been flashed briefly; in talking about Eastern Germany's economic progress (which no one took seriously) Vishinsky gave broad hints that economic treasures are lying in wait for those willing to trade with the Soviet satellites. The Russians badly need a new infusion of economic strength, but they are gambling on the assumption that the Americans are almost ready to talk business; they think they understand the significance of the replacement of General Clay by John J. McCloy; they believe they can afford to take chances with anti-cartelist Fair Dealers in Washington; and they seem to be probing carefully into the new setup to see if it offers them a place, however small, in the Ruhr.

At the end of the first week here—when not even a glimpse of such a place appeared, at least as far as outsiders could learn—no progress had been made in the conference. Yet only the British, and to a lesser extent the French, were really pessimistic. The German problem may not be resolved here—indeed at best there is little chance of more than small progress, of agreement to go on talking and trying. On the other hand there is a big chance that at the worst this meeting will lead to the removal or drastic lowering of the economic Iron Curtain. Even if the German problem can be only partly resolved, it is most likely that important progress can be made toward resolution of the problem of the whole world, wherein China potentially is scarcely less important than Germany.

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LESLIE THE BIFF

Everybody likes the little Secretary of the Senate but some fear he may be getting a trifle large for his britches

by Robert S. Allen

FOR AN INTIMATE of the President, the maker of the Vice President, and the crony, adviser and drinking companion of Senators, lobbyists, Supreme Court Justices, socialites, Cabinet members, columnists, brasshats, diplomats, and various other Washington specie, Leslie L. Biffle, Secretary of the US Senate, is personally as genial and pleasant as they come. Everybody likes Biff, including the increasing number of Senators and Administration bigwigs who are becoming more than a little annoyed by certain of his extracurricular activities. They may mutter and splutter about this privately, but they are still fond of Biff.

He is that kind of guy. Since his remarkable rise to remarkable political and social eminence, he has undergone no outward change in demeanor or appearance. He continues to wear the same size collar and hat, and he is as friendly and companionable as before. In fact, in some ways, even more so, for in the old days Biff did not entertain Washington newspapermen at expensive buffet luncheons or distribute cases of "Biffle's Tomato Juice" as Christmas mementos.

That's another remarkable thing about Biff—where does he get the means for his very active social pace? He and his equally charming wife live in a swank apartment house, and are members of a number of clubs, including the very ritzy Burning Tree. That sort of tempo costs money in Washington. It is a common plaint of Cabinet members and other top officials that they are unable to make ends meet on their salaries. The late Louis Schwellenbach went into debt during his three years in the Cabinet, and he didn't begin to live on Biffle's scale.

Small-statured, wiry and dapper, Biff has been a congressional employee for 40 years. The son of the country-store owner in tiny Boydsville (pop. 889), Arkansas, he got his start in 1909 as the $1,200 secretary of the Representative from his home district. Later, Biff shifted to the Senate, where patronage is generally of longer tenure. Through the years, as a result of deaths and other attrition, he slowly rose up the patronage escalator as one of the anonymous group of congressional employees, until he reached his present pinnacle in February, 1945, on the demise of the Democratic incumbent. At the time, Biff was a member of the staff of the Senate Sergeant-at-Arms, with the title of Secretary of the Majority.

Outside of congressional circles, Biffle was virtually unknown when he became Secretary of the Senate. The office, in effect, is the chief clerk of that body. Like most other congressional jobs, it is a patronage plum. Incumbency shifts with the tides of politics. The majority party controls the job.

Besides being just another anonymous congressional employee, Biff never earned a salary, until recent years, of more than $5,000. As Secretary of the Senate he now gets $12,000, plus a Cadillac and a chauffeur. That's nice going for a career employee. Even in high-cost Washington, it isn't peanuts. But it is temporary—wholly dependent on the Democrats' retaining control of the Senate. In 1946, when the Republicans captured the chamber, Biff was automatically reduced to Secretary of the Minority, with a cut in pay and no automobile and chauffeur.

Friends have an explanation for Biff's opulence. They attribute it to shrewd real-estate investments. That's possible. The Capital has doubled in size during the past ten years, and a lot of money has been made in real estate. Through his many political and social contacts, Biff could well have been advised on smart buys that paid off handsomely—under the capital-gains tax.

In any event, he is apparently sufficiently well-heeled to be right up among 'em in the social whirl. His name and picture have become fixtures in the Washington society columns. It is a rare, high-flown function indeed in which the name Biffle does not figure prominently, often ahead of the list of his bosses, US Senators. The society reporters know their political onions, even if the smell sometimes doesn't square exactly with the perfumed aroma of orthodox official precedence. In the press gallery, where Biff is viewed with a mixture of cynical friendliness and indulgent amazement, he is sometimes referred to as the "Mesta of Capitol Hill."

Buxom, ambitious and irrepressible, Mrs. Perle Mesta is the so-called "social queen" of Washington. She had the prescience, or good luck, to entertain often and lavishly for the Trumans when he was merely the vice-presidential appendage of the Roosevelt meteor. When fate suddenly intervened and Truman became the White House occupant, Mrs. Mesta was made. Overnight, she attained her life's ambition and zoomed to undisputed eminence atop the social heap. Biff's phenomenal soar was no less spectacular and due to the same reason. He too had been a pre-T-Day pal.

Robert S. Allen was co-editor, with Drew Pearson, of "Washington Merry-Go-Round." He is the author of Our Fair City.

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When Truman first came to the Senate in 1935, one of Biff's functions was to steer and counsel freshmen Senators. The mild little Missourian and the soft-spoken little Arkansan took to each other from the start. Both were background figures, had a lot in common in origin and traits, and a cozy friendship developed between them.

According to a story now told by Biff's friends, it was he who suggested Truman for chairman of the headline-making War Investigating Committee. It was this committee which started Truman toward the White House. How much of a role Biff actually played in Truman's selection is problematical. By 1941, when the committee was created, Truman had considerable seniority, although he was not chairman of a standing committee. That is the most likely reason he got the investigating post, plus the fact that he had a quiet but loyal New Deal voting record. He was known as a dependable Administration supporter.

Another story fondly related by Biffle's entourage, credits him with a key hand in Truman's fateful vice-presidential nomination at the 1944 convention. This story should be big news to the three "king-makers" of that deal—former Democratic National Chairman Bob Hannegan, Bronx boss Ed Flynn, and California oil magnate and almost-Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ed Pauley.

Other stories are told about the important role Biff is supposed to have played in the President's career and about their intimate friendship. The stories are largely apocryphal, but have just enough substance to give them a semblance of truth. It is a fact that Truman is fond of Biff. Also, that on occasion the President has used him for quiet political chores. But the most important fact of all is that canny Biff knows a good thing when he sees it, particularly when it is the President of the United States. Biff has been discreet and adroit about it, but he has played that bull market for all it is worth.

On one notable occasion he used it to put over a coup on his good friend, the President himself.

It occurred at the 1948 convention. After Truman failed to persuade Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas to take the vice-presidential nomination, Truman telephoned former National Chairmen Frank Walker, Hannegan and Flynn and asked them to dig up a running mate. Their choice was Wilson Wyatt, former Mayor of Louisville and postwar Housing Expediter. Young, liberal, and from a border state, Wyatt, in the opinion of the three veteran leaders, would be a help to the ticket. Truman agreed—although the year previous, he had let Wyatt quit in disgust when White House crony George Allen scuttled Wyatt's liberal housing program.

Secretly, Walker, Hannegan and Flynn went to work for Wyatt. But while they were busy behind the scenes, Biffle deftly short-circuited them and the President. Biff planted a press story that Senator Alben Barkley was Truman's choice. The horde of reporters fell for the plant, hook, line and sinker. The convention had been a wake for the newsmen. For days they had been rehashing the same stories: the low state of morale of the delegates, the chip-on-the-shoulder antics of the Dixiecrat contingent and the futile scrambling of the other anti-Trumanites to find someone to replace him. Biffle's plant was the first hot news to come out of the convention, and the bored reporters leaped on it.

Truman awakened the next morning to find the story splashed across the front pages in box-car headlines. It was a distressing situation. He did not want Barkley. For one thing, the Kentuckian was 71 years old, seven years Truman's senior. Also, their relations had never been more than lukewarm. The vice-presidency had not been mentioned between them. Finally, Truman had quietly agreed on Wyatt.

But, there it was, in roaring type, that Barkley was his choice. Pal Biffle had done a masterful job. Regardless of how Truman felt, there was nothing he could do. He couldn't repudiate the story, publicly or privately. That would be too risky. Barkley would have taken mortal offense and, unquestionably, would have thrown his weight against Truman. Truman's hold on the convention was too tenuous to hazard that. In fact, when he didn't immediately confirm Biffle's story, Southern leaders, who were privy to its origin, began to talk up Barkley as a substitute for Truman. That threw a real scare into the President.

So he grimly swallowed his chagrin and bowed to the coup his good friend Biff had put over on him.

Biffle's primary motivation in this extraordinary affair was simple. He was taking care of himself—first. Truman was his friend, but Barkley was his boss. Being a crony of the President of the United States has its advantages and favors. But Presidents come and go, and in June, 1948, it looked as if Truman was definitely on the way out. The Senate, on the other hand, is Biffle's meal ticket. Barkley was the Democratic floor leader. His patronage had made it possible for Biffle to become Secretary of the Senate. Whatever happened in the campaign, Barkley was sure to remain potently in the Senate picture, either as Democratic leader or as Vice President. Biffle couldn't lose.

There was still another important consideration in Biffle's reasoning. He is no liberal. The New Deal and the Fair Deal leave him cold. He is a Southerner with the same general outlook as Tydings, George, Ellender and others of that clique. The idea of Douglas on the ticket had been very unpalatable to Biffle, and Wyatt was little less so. To Biffle, Barkley was the ideal compromise. That Truman didn't want him was of no matter. Biffle knew Truman had no choice; that if a choice were aggressively exercised for him, he would have to take it and like it. And that's the way it was.

Whatever Truman's irritation at Biffle may have been, it vanished quickly in the elation of being renominated. There were occasions dur-

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ing the convention when that outcome had been doubtful. The subsequent miraculous election victory wiped out all scores, and Biff's stock soared sky-high.

Lately, like certain other commodities, that stock has experienced a touch of disinflation. Biff has been overly free-handed, or careless, with his promises. Some have backfired with embarrassing repercussions.

An example is the case of former Representative Richard F. Harless, of Arizona. Casting about for a lame-duck job, he decided he would like to be Ambassador to Mexico. Harless talked to Biffle. "We'll take care of it," was the assuring reply. Harless departed under the impression the "we" meant Biff and his pal Truman. But weeks passed and nothing happened. Finally, Senator Carl Hayden, Arizona's grand old liberal, took the matter up with the President. It was all news to him. Biffle had not mentioned Harless.

Another instance was a Republican vacancy on the Federal Trade Commission. At least three aspirants besought Biffle's intervention in their behalf. One was George Meredith, former staff member of the Senate Small Business Committee. Each hopeful thought he had reason to believe Biff was going to bat for him. Actually, Biffle didn't lift a finger for any of them.

The striking similarity of Biff's breezy absent-mindedness in these and similar instances indicates that it was not due to coincidence. Whatever else he is, Biff is not fuzzy-headed. One of his proud professional claims is that he is an ambulatory encyclopedia of senatorial lore and legislative minutiæ. In these patronage affairs, Biff clearly was the victim of a common political affliction. He couldn't say no, even though he knew he couldn't, or wouldn't, deliver. So he said yes, and hoped for the best. He was either too smart, or too ineffectual, to attempt to make good.

The incidents have led to quite a bit of private spluttering. Certain Democratic Senators, who consider patronage their exclusive prerogative, have not taken kindly to Biff's intrusion, unwitting or otherwise. That may explain why he was slapped down so brusquely when he attempted to make the husband of his secretary Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate. The plum went to Joseph C. Duke of Arizona, the candidate of Senator Hayden.

After Biff's rebuff, one Senator explained it this way, "I like Biff. Everybody likes him. He's a nice fellow when he sticks to his knitting and minds his own business. But Biff seems to get careless at times and overlooks the fact that he is merely the Secretary of the Senate and not a member of the Senate. There is a big difference."

There is, indeed. But it would be hard to discern it from the appearance of Biff's office.

The spacious, massive-furnitured suite is crowded with Senators, job-hunters, Cabinet members, lobbyists, visiting politicos, contract-seekers, socialites and numerous other fry, machinating, gossiping, seeking favors, wire-pulling and, above all, eating and drinking. So much food is consumed that correspondents have dubbed the place "Biff's diner." It is the favorite lounge of Vice President Barkley. He spends more time there than in his own vast sanctum. And Truman never fails to drop in whenever he is on Capitol Hill.

Biff's devoted staff makes a big point of calling visitors' attention to the direct-line White House telephone on his desk. Actually, it's nothing new. One of the functions of the office of the Secretary of the Senate is to provide fast contact with the White House when the President is of the same party as the Senate majority. But Biff's fond entourage likes to make an ado about this phone, as evidence of his close ties with the President. It's part of Biff's build-up.

This build-up is truly remarkable—the most remarkable in Senate annals. Never before has a Secretary of the Senate been solemnly portrayed in the press as "the President's most effective 'trouble-shooter' on Capitol Hill." That is the unique role in which Biff was effusively spotlighted in a by-lined feature article in a great New York newspaper. A curious thing about this adulatory story was that it appeared at a time when the Senate was booting Truman all over the place. But although he was up to his ears in trouble, there was no discernible evidence that Biff, or anyone else for that matter, was doing anything about it. If Truman was leaning on Biff as a "trouble-shooter," he was getting the same treatment received by Harless, Meredith and sundry others.

But the amazing build-up persists—as further proof of an old truth that in Washington, it is appearance and not substance that counts with the pundits. Biff would be the first to deny indignantly responsibility for his build-up. And he would be speaking the truth. The canny little Arkansan is too smart to lay himself open that way. Furthermore, he doesn't have to. Biff is loaded with the outward symptoms of pull and influence. That these trappings are largely illusory, or unreliable where the Fair Deal is concerned, is another story. Biff, like Old Man River, "don't say nothin'." Quietly and smilingly, he lets appearances talk for him. He couldn't have a better press agent.

Never before has the Secretary of the Senate, a hired hand, been the first-name crony of the President of the United States, the intimate confidant of the Vice President, the darling of Washington society and the pal of party chieftains, lobbyists and Cabinet members. The Senate has witnessed many strange phenomena in its long history, but this is definitely new. Biff's build-up has raised his previously modest and anonymous office to front-page eminence and glamor. He is the first Secretary of the Senate to achieve full-dress profiles in mass-circulation magazines (*Life*, June 10, 1946, and *Collier's*, January 29, 1949).

Many of Biff's predecessors were equally amiable and talented. But none was ever acclaimed as "one of the most popular men in public life," as was Biff recently in a Washington

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society column. The same article also mentioned Foreign Ministers Bevin and Schuman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, a Supreme Court Justice and a millionaire real-estate operator.

Until Biff's incumbency, the Secretary of the Senate was merely the varyingly efficient chief clerk of the Senate, a useful but distinctly not glamorous office. Biff's immediate Democratic predecessor, the late Edwin A. Halsey, was happily content with his modest role and title. A big, bluff, ingratiating Virginian, known affectionately as "Colonel," Halsey was beamingly grateful when he obtained a passing mention in a local paper. It never occurred to him to seek political and social prominence. And Carl A. Loeffler, Biff's Republican predecessor during the late and unlamented 80th Congress, was even more modest. Although Loeffler began his Senate employment as a page in 1889, and was continuously on the Senate payroll until he retired last January, he was virtually unknown outside of immediate Senate circles. Cutting a political and social swath would have been the last thing to occur to Loeffler.

Another thing that probably would not have occurred to him is to be on close terms with lobbyists. One of Biff's closest friends is Carroll Cone, vice-president of Pan-American Airways. Pan-Am is renowned for its all-pervasive lobby in Washington. For this purpose the airline's officialdom is carefully bipartisan. Pan-Am plays both parties impartially against the middle—for Pan-Am. It has a Republican vice-president, Sam Pryor, former GOP National Committeeman from Connecticut, and a Democratic vice-president, Cone. A party fund-raiser and veteran wire-puller, Cone spends much time in the Capital, a lot of it in the company of his close friend and fellow Arkansan, Biffle.

As a boon companion, Biff has few peers. Affable, quiet-mannered, ingratiating, he mixes easily and widely. That last facility is what is causing all the eyebrow-raising. Biff's mixing seems to be extraordinarily extensive for an employee of the Senate.

LEFT OF CENTER

BLUEPRINTS for political action in 1950 are in the making. Labor's League for Political Education, meeting in Cleveland, decided to begin the 1950 campaign this coming fall with the solicitation of voluntary contributions. The time table calls for concentration on Southern Democratic primaries in mid-1950 and top priority is assigned to the defeat of Senator Taft in the regular election. A session of all AFL leaders will be held this July in Washington to prepare strategy.

Beyond 1950 labor will make one of its main efforts in Virginia, to knock out Byrd in 1952. Labor machinery for the reëlection of Senator Francis Myers (Pa.) will be put together this summer. Liberal forces have made big gains in Tennessee through actions of the recent legislature which greatly embarrassed the slipping Crump gang. The lawful permanent registration of voters was revised to make more difficult the rigging of registration lists. The poll tax was whittled down—exemption was voted for women and the blind—and the ground was laid for its elimination by constitutional amendment; the tax for party primaries was wiped out.

In New Mexico, labor is circulating a petition to invalidate the action of the recent state legislature outlawing the primary election system; 2,000 signatures are required to reverse it.

To maintain morale both the CIO and AFL stress the fact that Representatives have not doublecrossed their labor backers: Murray reports five defections; Joe Keenan of LLPE reports only two out of 172.

Hal Gibbons, formerly head of the St. Louis branch of the CIO Retail Wholesale Union, currently head of local 688 of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, is the stormy petrel of the Midwest labor movement and well worth watching. Because of a disagreement with the CIO International, he disaffiliated his St. Louis distributive workers and merged with the AFL Teamsters, thereby considerably enlarging his union. He established inter-union organizing committees with the International Association of Machinists (unaffiliated).

The joint organizing drive he instigated in the automotive and petroleum trades was so successful that it inspired Kansas City drivers and machinists to do the same. Then he joined hands with the Retail Clerks and the Building Service Employees in a tri-union committee to organize the department stores. At the end of a three-week campaign more than 1,000 new workers were signed up. Gibbons' outfit runs one of the best health clinics in America. Last November when the entire labor movement timidly went along with an incumbent for state office, Gibbons' union put up its own candidate and elected him.

Both the AFL and CIO picked up large blocks of new members recently when the Communications Workers affiliated with the CIO, and the Hosiery Workers, formerly with the CIO, affiliated with the AFL. Some within labor's ranks feel that the first steps toward unification have been taken in the forming of the International Federation of Trade Unions. This will be the first opportunity for the two large labor bodies to maintain liaison in a joint effort.

The Daily Compass, new New York newspaper edited by T. O. Thackrey, left no doubt as to its political intent when on the second day of its appearance it endorsed ALP candidate Annette Rubinstein in the election in the 20th Congressional District. The *Daily Worker,* commenting on Roosevelt's election, wrote: "This campaign cannot be viewed as a victory for the people, despite the fact that the majority believed they were voting for the Roosevelt policy when voting for Roosevelt Jr."

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Senator McGrath Stubs His Toe*

POLITICIANS frequently insist on carrying the same pitcher to the same well until at last it is broken into bits. This was true of the Tammany organization in the 20th District of New York where Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. was elected to fill the Sol Bloom vacancy on May 17. It was also true of the Democratic National Committee. Senator McGrath, its chairman, threw his support to the Tammany candidate, Justice Benjamin H. Shalleck, and now he is nursing a stubbed big toe.

It is difficult to understand why McGrath should have interjected himself into a by-election in a New York district. Unfortunately some people assumed that he was expressing the desire of the White House that young Roosevelt should not win. McGrath's pronouncement would have been more reasonable if this by-election were to have been held in his own state, or in President Truman's. It would seem that the Democratic National Committee was looking for trouble in going to the support of a Tammany candidate against FDR Jr.

After all, the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt, even plus the "Jr.," is politically potent. It was bound to have pulling power, as was also the idea of the New Deal. Senator McGrath should have realized this, because it was the New Deal, and the millions who believe in it, that carried President Truman to success last year when the Republicans made the mistake of attacking it and slurring its originator. It is inexplicable that, within so short a time, in declaring for the Tammany candidate, against the man who bore, even with a "Jr." trailer, the politically alluring name of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic strategists should discard the campaign tactics they had found so productive last November. Dr. Gallup and the other assorted pollsters cannot be blamed this time. The burnt fingers are on the hands of those who hilariously ridiculed them last November.

The aloof attitude of Mayor O'Dwyer of New York, whose political fortunes would be more nearly affected by this special election than those of the National Administration, might have served as a warning to McGrath. O'Dwyer refrained from endorsing either Democratic candidate, but his opposition to Tammany Hall was well known and this undoubtedly helped Roosevelt. It was a little late to rush David Niles to New York the day following the election to explain to FDR Jr. that he was the dearly beloved of the Democratic high command, despite the indiscreet endorsement of Shalleck by McGrath. This *ex-post-facto* assurance came a little late, with the result that a young and forceful political figure will appear on the Washington scene with obligations to no one in the Capital. What this portends for 1950 and 1952 remains to be seen.

But one thing is certain, and this is that if Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. has inherited the political acumen of his illustrious father, as he seems to have inherited his personal charm, his physique and his ability to take care of himself on the hustings, the people of the United States are going to have an interesting new political figure to watch in the future. Young Roosevelt, with the start that he has made, can go far. For one, I hope he will. We need new and forceful figures in our public life, to augment those who have forged to the front on the Democratic side as the result of the last national election. Certainly every man and woman who hitched his wagon to the luminous planet that was Franklin D. Roosevelt will welcome his promising son and encourage a career modeled on his father's.

Whatever the future may hold in store for the junior Roosevelt, his overwhelming election in the 20th District was portentous. In a bitterly fought campaign, Roosevelt not only defeated the Tammany candidate almost two to one, he actually won a clear majority of the unusually heavy vote that came out on election day. Undoubtedly the revered name he bore was of great help. Moreover, the result proved, beyond any doubt, the pulling power of the New Deal. It confirmed what this writer has felt all along, which is that the politicians who have been hoping to acquire greater power by traducing the memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt and ridiculing his New Deal have enthroned prejudice and dispossessed reason.

The victory last November on the New Deal issue, followed by the election of FDR Jr. in the 20th District, ought to persuade even the most hidebound and reactionary Republican candidates that if they hope to win for their party, they had better campaign on the merits of their own program and not expect to win by capitalizing non-existent, anti-New Deal convictions. The people, as the New York result has confirmed and as they have shown time after time since 1932, believe in the New Deal and propose to hold on to and perfect it rather than turn back the pages of our history to the days of the Republican regimes that followed Woodrow Wilson.

The 20th District also emphasized again the political ineptness of James A. Farley. Roosevelt, according to reports and to the regret of many, asked Farley to help him among the Irish voters in his district. Despite Farley's curt refusal, Roosevelt carried the Irish votes just as he carried those of other groups. I have never been impressed, as has Farley himself, with that gentleman's political astuteness. The most that can be said of him is that he was clever in choosing the coattails upon which to ride in 1932 and 1936. By erecting a spite fence against the whole Roosevelt family, he has given further evidence that, in the bitter insinuations and misrepresentations in his ghost-written books, he was not motivated by principle or impersonal interest in the public welfare.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

CLASSIC MODELS FOR MODERN CRITICS

by F. O. Matthiessen

AN INGENIOUS way of evaluating the aims and accomplishments of modern criticism was to induce several of our critics to undertake the task of re-evaluating some of the great critics of the past. Such was the function of a recent symposium at Johns Hopkins, though you might never guess the timeliness of the discourse from the neutral title of the resulting volume.

LECTURES IN CRITICISM, by R. P. Blackmur, Benedetto Croce, Henri Peyre, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Allen Tate. With an Introduction by Huntington Cairns (Bollingen Series XVI, Pantheon Books; $3.50).

All criticism moves between the poles of abstract formulation and application to the concrete instance. In his introduction, Huntington Cairns laments the continued absence of a systematic theory of criticism, but the more experienced practitioners in the arts usually recognize, like Allen Tate, that: "The permanent critics do not answer questions. They compel us to ask them again." For the general reader the first question to be posed might seem to be that in Henri Peyre's piece on "The Criticism of Contemporary Writing." Peyre, taking what he calls a French view of the American scene, holds that "one probably does not understand the past aright if one fails to understand the present." This proposition is borne out, with a fascinating reverse twist, by the particular reëvaluations. In every case the liveliest thought is called forth by those aspects of the past having most kinship to the present writer.

Ransom starts off by saying that his account of Aristotle might well be subtitled "the literary criticism of a man of letters who had become a pedagogue, and of an idealist who had become a naturalist." Though the Senior Fellow of the Kenyon School is far too modest ever to have thought of a parallel between himself and the author of the *Poetics*, the quotation is a more exact description of Ransom's own career. Both he and Tate are concerned with "appropriate structure," with "linguistic analysis," with "ambiguity," and they may recall that at the Kenyon School last summer I suggested the fine of a nickel for anyone who used the word "strategy" at the breakfast table again. Tate's consideration of Longinus enables him appropriately to bring into play all these key terms of the modern craftsman. It will be especially offensive to specialists, since Tate remarks that he has just reread Longinus for the first time in twenty years. But this candor underscores the fact that Longinus has seldom reached the common reader in our time. By letting this reader share in his observations as he makes them, Tate demonstrates how fundamental the questions are that Longinus compels us to reformulate. In addition, Longinus has stimulated him to one of his best generalizations, on the theme that "Style does not create the subject; it discovers it."

The arbitrary leap in this symposium from classical antiquity to Coleridge is again characteristic of contemporary taste. And no more symptomatic contemporary exists than Herbert Read, whose chief critical role during the past thirty years has been as the generous explorer of each successive new movement. It should not be surprising, in view of his previous tracing of the roots of surrealism to the nineteenth-century romantics, that the Coleridge who absorbs him is the philosopher with kindred preoccupations to those of the existentialists. It may be more surprising, and pardonable only in the light of his advanced age, that Croce, invited to write on DeSanctis, treats him exclusively as the precursor of "the principle of intuition" developed in Croce's own work.

Since Gide was unable, at the last moment, either to come or to send a paper, Peyre filled in for him, and took upon himself the responsibility of raising some of the wider questions for contemporary America. He is struck, as the European almost always is, by the peculiar isolation of the American writer. Concerning criticism in particular, he reflects upon the sad anomaly that "the two richest nations in the modern world, the United States and Great Britain, are the only ones in which critical talent must starve or be stifled." He knows how our leading magazines have altered for the worse even since the days of Howells, and observes that "no future historian of American letters between 1919 and 1949 will find in 'Harper's' or 'The Atlantic Monthly' an accurate picture of the literary life of those crucial years." I'm sorry to say that he also adds that the common reader, who used to find the new issues "touched upon in 'The New Republic' or in 'The Nation' of twenty years ago, nowadays has to resign himself to living in a critical desert."

Peyre's leading desire is for a greater play of taste, but he reveals curious lapses in his own. He lumps together Babbitt and Spingarn, who were at opposite poles, and makes a sweeping dismissal of the serious criticism of our time that has been produced under the aegis of Eliot and Richards. In this he receives odd support from Blackmur's paper, "A Burden for Critics." As a painstaking practitioner in "the new criticism," Blackmur has always been at his best when he has stayed closest to textual analysis. But now in his consciousness of the limitations in that method, he denies it too much. Aware that it has sprung out of our renewed concern

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with the English metaphysicals and the French symbolists, he falls into a broad misstatement when he says that it is therefore "useless for Dante, Chaucer, Goethé, or Racine." What one finds in the "structure" and "texture" of a poem (to use Ransom's terms) naturally varies with the poet at hand. But resilient attention to language, the primary resource of every poet, can always come up with new treasure—as, for example, Martin Turnell, one of the *Scrutiny* critics, has just been demonstrating in the case of Racine.

Peyre goes even farther astray in lamenting that the critics in the little magazines have reserved their praise for the less "energetic" talents. It could easily be documented that much of the pioneering work in developing a wider public for, say, Joyce, Kafka or Faulkner has gone on in the pages of such periodicals. But the central dilemma remains in the widening gap between the blurb writing that passes for reviewing in the organs of mass circulation, and the criticism that often becomes too serious in the wrong sense from the consciousness, on the part of writers in the little magazines, that they may have a fit audience but far too few. It would be illuminating to see what would happen if a periodical with the circulation, for instance, of the *Saturday Review* set itself to give its readers essays and reviews of a consistently exacting standard. Certainly anyone now in touch with the big postwar classes in our universities can realize that thousands are graduating each spring with an alert desire to hold together their knowledge of the present and the past. Is it impossible to provide a supply for this demand?

PEOPLE IN THE BULL'S-EYE

LEAVE IT TO THE PEOPLE, by Quentin Reynolds (Random House; $3.50).
TARGET: YOU, by Leland Stowe (Alfred A. Knopf; $3).

DURING World War II Leland Stowe and Quentin Reynolds earned deserved reputations as honest, sympathetic reporters and interpreters of peoples united in a common struggle. Whether they wrote about a ballerina chopping wood in Moscow or about a diplomat sipping scotch in London, their books had a combination of urgency and validity which made them important as well as pleasant reading.

Now in the springtime of our cold war both men have brought out new communiqués addressed to their publics. In attempting to reconvert from war production, each has leaned heavily on his own specialty. For Reynolds it is color; he is the feature writer girdling the globe. In Stowe's case it is the world of ideas and ideologies; he is the typewriting conscience of the middle-class intellectual, USA.

What Reynolds writes will interest a large audience, but it may not closely concern them or much worry them. What Stowe has to say will not interest a very large group. But those who stick with his sometimes tedious lecture to "John Between" will be concerned, worried and probably moved.

Leave It to the People is full of swell stories gathered at such top speed that the author reveals himself to be a brain-picker of Guntherian proportions. There's a colorful description of the birth of Israel and some friendly close-ups of the new state's leaders and settlers plus a paragraph or two on Palestinian gin versus Rishon wines. Before you have had enough of that, "Quent" is off to Italy and Greece. You learn how a comic strip helped defeat the Communists in Italy and you are about to find out quite a bit more about Greece when "Ginny" (Mrs. Reynolds) wants a decent meal in Paris. (At this point there's a strong suggestion that the husband and wife team has spread from radio to foreign correspondence.)

There follows the airlift, told in human terms; a session with correspondent Drew Middleton and *his* wife in Germany, highlighted by an argument about Babe Ruth and Joe DiMaggio and climaxed by a long-distance telephone call to restaurateur Toots Shor; three cheers for the great old sovereign, Wilhelmina, the people's choice; a yarn about a racehorse named Souverain, also the people's choice; a *True* magazine profile of a Folies Bergère *nue*; some fine descriptive paragraphs from Dunkirk; a flying trip to Oslo and then home in time for the World Series.

After six months in six countries, Reynolds is certain that democracy is "very much alive in every country I visited in 1948." Communism, he feels, had its chance in the postwar years and failed. He's satisfied that the Germans are "beginning to believe that there is no 'ersatz' for democracy." Democracy is so alive, he writes, that "Moscow Communist propaganda during the past year has been directed toward identifying Communism with democracy." This tactic has, of course, been going on for many, many years, and is not a result of the Marshall Plan. In short, Reynolds is happily convinced that "today democracy is selling itself to Europe on performance as well as salesmanship."

Stowe begins where Reynolds leaves off. His purpose is to warn middle-class Americans that they are the final target for the crossfires of totalitarianism. The decision about what kind of a world there will be for that *nue* in the Folies Bergère will be decided by Stamford commuters, and Book-of-the-Month Club subscribers. In support of that conviction, Stowe reviews middle-class history in Europe in the pre- and postwar years so that American John Betweens will understand why Europe's middle classes have swung to the Left. He argues cogently that, Socialist or not, they are our only possible allies.

On domestic questions, Stowe also knows where he stands and where he wants John Between to stand: against laissez-faire capitalism, for reasonable controls; against indiscriminate Red-hunts, for civil liberties and respect of the laws protecting our freedoms; against a national defense program that will thwart democratic practices without achieving real security. And, in the long run, this orientation leads Stowe to an eloquent chapter pleading for "world government through world law."

In *Target: You*, Stowe has employed a manner at the opposite extreme from

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Reynolds. Feature angles have been ignored or submerged. The format is that of a textbook, and, as a matter of fact, the volume would make excellent required reading for the Great Issues course at Dartmouth. It is a book for the underinformed or the overprejudiced. It solves every problem except its own: how do you get readers for *Target: You*?

Reynolds would find some jolly anecdotes. The Leland Stowe of *No Other Road to Freedom* would have known how to dress up the sermon. Between them they could probably lick the technical problem of making *Target: You* seductive enough so that Stamford commuter or Book-of-the-Month subscriber would get beyond the opening chapter, titled, "Spotlight on a Sadly Neglected Character."

RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH

TOTAL TEACHING

FILM AND EDUCATION: A Symposium on the Role of the Film in the Field of Education. Edited by Godfrey M. Elliott (Philosophical Library; $7.50).

THERE IS an ever increasing demand for audio-visual aids in child and adult education. Schools, government agencies, churches, community centers, business enterprises—all of them have formed the habit of drawing on films as an effective means to further their aims. What has been achieved so far? And what might be done in the future? *Film and Education* provides some of the answers. It is a symposium of 37 contributions which supersedes the widely scattered literature on these topics by a one-volume survey of the immense field of the educational film. No single individual could have covered so much ground; and it is to the credit of the editor, Godfrey M. Elliott, that he has molded his disparate materials into a well-organized whole. Indispensable to sponsors and producers alike, this manual challenges them to exchange their experiences, thus discouraging a waste of energy and needless duplication of effort.

Several points made by the experts are of general interest. Most contributors agree that the current emphasis on audio-visual education must be traced to the last war, in particular to the undeniable success of the Army training films. People once engaged in making these pictures now continue along the same lines, breathing a new spirit into an old species. But the educational movie as such dates from the childhood days of the medium. Elliott himself dwells on its venerable past; and one of his collaborators insists that the first film ever produced for a government agency was made by the Department of Agriculture as early as 1908. Yet only in recent years have we begun to develop the educational film systematically in all branches of human activity. The present film program of the State Department is released in 22 languages, with a view to making the peoples of the earth understand our way of life.

And why are movies particularly suited to implement the purposes of education and training? "The film is the best teacher," says Pudovkin, "because it teaches not only through the brain but through the whole body." The book is full of statements to corroborate this thesis. They invariably point to what may be called the psychosomatic effect of any educational film not unduly burdened with verbal comment. At least two contributors hold that such pictures surpass words in bringing about desirable ..ttitudes; a third, speaking of industrial training films, credits the latter with directly mobilizing adequate "muscular-neural coördinations." The constant stream of images, it appears, works primarily upon the senses of the trainee, attuning them to the suggestions from the screen. He experiences what he sees not only with his intellect but throughout his entire organism. This, for instance, would explain the helpfulness of films in teaching children of low ability.

One chapter comments upon the increasing use made of entertainment films in schools, mentioning Hollywood's willingness to comply with the desires of educators within reasonable limits. The purpose is laudable, the argumentation weak. "The introduction of sound," the author says, "made it possible for the lines of Shakespeare to be heard all over America, and to acquaint the general populace with the works of Hugo, Thackeray, Dickens, and Tolstoy." Then, withdrawing to a last, seemingly unconquerable line of defense, he makes much of the fact that pictures of this kind arouse a strong appetite for the originals from which they are drawn.

I doubt that the "populace," to use the author's term, gets acquainted with Tolstoy or Dickens by looking at popular screen adaptations of their works. Such adaptations, with their necessary or unnecessary distortions, obstruct rather than further a true understanding of the masterworks themselves; so that really not much is gained when people come to them only under the impact of questionable film versions. To evoke a sense of literature is the task of schools. This does not mean that schools should refrain from showing entertainment films. On the contrary, some of them —for instance, "The Best Years of Our Lives" or "Boomerang"—have a high educational value because they are genuine films with a genuine message. Everything depends on the selection. "Joan of Arc" is quite apt to alienate the young from history, while "Stagecoach" may strengthen their grasp of it.

SIEGFRIED KRACAUER

Siegfried Kracauer, former European editor, is the author of From Caligari to Hitler.

WORTH REPRINTING

MATTHEW ARNOLD, by Lionel Trilling (The Columbia University Press; $5).

WHEN Lionel Trilling's study of Matthew Arnold was published ten years ago, it received the enthusiastic and appreciative acclaim it deserved. It is another (and substantial) tribute that sales have exhausted the last printing of the original publisher and a continuing demand justifies this reprinting by the press of Trilling's own university. It is still the definitive work on the subject, a treatment that is

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thorough and sensitive, solidly and imaginatively documented by quotation. One may not share the author's enthusiasm for Arnold, but the breadth and intelligence of the book instruct and persuade where they may not always convince.

Matthew Arnold is an account of one who "begins his career in personal confusion and lyric poetry, progresses through literary and political criticism, and arrives at the affirmation of religion." It is first of all "a biography of Arnold's mind," but as that mind was keenly sensitive to its time, was shaped by it, and reacted in turn upon it, the biography necessarily became a history. Necessarily, too, in a more expedient sense, because for simple comprehension of Arnold's words one must often place them in the situation that prompted them. Trilling remarks that Arnold's words are often falsified even when correctly quoted. This may not be the consequence of malice or simplicity; Arnold spoke from such a personal experience (it might be more exact to say a personal *need*) that his vocabulary often seems to mean more than it says, to require interpretation, and to result in a number of vague terms, misappropriated as catchwords. A detailed reconstruction of Arnold's references is thus no small part of Trilling's job.

In accounting for Arnold's early and relatively short poetic period, Trilling provides a key to the rest of his career. As Arnold himself recognized, his talent was not a robust one, and "in the end . . . the fate he feared and fought overtook him: the poetic power passed away." Arnold's poetic talent is here connected with the dandyism of his youth, and its impulse identified as "the mood of self-pity, set off by the knowledge of gaiety, producing the best of his poetry." There is a pessimism in this temperament which mistrusts any values beyond those of experience; once the prime of life is passed (or is supposed past) there remains a premature nostalgia to celebrate the death of youth and vitality. We have the present writer's evidence that such an attitude in part persisted: Arnold, he says, "could never relinquish the memory of his youth and its hope, and . . . while youth lasted, was ever conscious of the pathos of its evanescence." There would seem to be an intimate connection between this urgency and the impulse of his later criticism, where the motive power seems substantially *will* power, even though it is *good* will.

Criticism for Arnold (as indeed for anyone who considers it a serious intellectual discipline) was more than *literary* criticism. It was a challenge and a corrective for an age of unprecedented cant and confusion, an age, in Trilling's memorable phrase, of "men who were darkening counsel with great talents." Criticism was an approach "to a new manner of speech which should be the outward and visible sign of this new manner of thinking—new, that is, to English intellectual life." Quite a program for criticism, one might demur—to reform the intellectual and emotional habits of a prosperous, complacent people!

These habits of the middle-class (which was intellectually pretty much the *only* class) Arnold summed up as Philistinism. "We have sacrificed to Philistinism," he wrote, "culture, and insight, and dignity, and acceptance, and weight among the nations." This was no light complaint; Arnold's great insight recognized the intellectual life as threatening the very life of the nation. Philistinism, he warned, is "not merely distasteful; it is dangerous. Unless . . . the middle class learns to think a little more and bustle a little less, and changes this condition of things, England will not be at the top of the next historical wave."

Besides a warning, Arnold had a message, carried under a term with an unfortunate history: culture. Part of that history, which is one of misinterpretation, originates with Arnold, but for him the term "means many things but nothing less than reason experienced as a kind of grace by each citizen, the conscious effort of each man to come to the realization of his complete humanity." Further development of this concept would only lead by a roundabout way to the conclusion that "culture may best be described as religion with the critical intellect superadded." Whatever the superaddition, the resultant sum is an elusive intuitive matter, dependent to a degree fatal to wide acceptance on the "moral and social passion of doing good."

It may seem inconceivable that Arnold seriously hoped for the adherence of more than a dedicated elite to such a high-minded uncompromising program—a religion or substitute religion without a minimal discipline or creed. But though he made no such provision for the unenlightened many, he did hope to include them in his program, as Trilling shows by analysis of Arnold's political theory. (It is significant how the program of culture shifts back and forth from religion to politics.) But Trilling also expresses the final practical criticism of Arnold's teaching when he says that "it is so much a counsel of perfection that it becomes a counsel of despair." Culture *or* anarchy: if the alternatives are as final as Arnold insisted, hope is fatuous indeed.

JOHN FARRELLY

THE STRANGE LOVER

JOURNAL TO STELLA, by Jonathan Swift. Edited by Harold Williams (The Oxford University Press; 2 vols., $13.50).

THE MEMOIRS and histories which are now falling about our ears concern themselves with the events of recent war and give intimate glimpses of the almost daily doings of our political and military leaders. It is a rather interesting moment for a new edition of Swift's *Journal* to appear. Swift set down an uninterrupted daily record of his activities in London and his relationship with the leading ministers from September 9, 1710, to May 16, 1713, a time when the Duke of Marlborough, an earlier Churchill and perhaps England's greatest general, after a series of unprecedented successes in the field, was suddenly deprived of his power and influence

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to make way for a new government that could make peace with the enemies he had conquered. That was also a dramatic moment in the history of English political parties; it was then that the arrangements made at the Treaty of Utrecht settled the balance of power in Europe for the next half-century.

Swift arrived in London at the moment when changes were taking place in the Ministry that were to put the government into the hands of the Tories for the last years of the Queen's reign and to bring about an end to the war. He found himself "equally caressed by both parties, by one as a sort of bough for drowning men to lay hold of; and by the other as one discontented with the late men in power." He had come over on a mission from the Irish church and certainly at first did not expect to stay for more than a few months; but six weeks later, with this task accomplished, he recognized that he was at the beginning of other and much more important business that might be worth noting down. "I fancy I shall some time or other have the curiosity of seeing some particulars how I passed my life when I was absent from MD this time." He was soon launched on his new employment of running the weekly *Examiner* for the Ministry and from November, 1710, until the peace was signed in 1713 he was at the center of affairs.

All through the *Journal* there runs a complicated plot wherein the fortunes of the Ministry and the Tory Party are interwoven with Swift's hopes for his own advancement, until finally he is given his reward, the Deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and the *Journal* comes to an end with his return to there in May, 1713. Some of the fascination of the *Journal* rests in a strangely dramatic quality that makes it so much more than a personal chronicle of life in London in the early part of the eighteenth century, and so much more than a collection of disjointed comments on his own varied activities and on the friends and enemies with whom he came into contact. The unity is further intensified by the extraordinary quality of a style that never allows us to forget that what we read is being written down daily, morning and evening—usually before he gets up or after he has gone to bed—by this strange lover who is so concerned to keep an uninterrupted record for the delight of a woman whose friendship he values above all else in the world.

Perhaps it is only when we have before us the original letters, twenty-seven of which are preserved in the British Museum, that we can still realize to the full the immediacy and intimacy of this record. But in editing the present text from the manuscripts, Harold Williams has done all that is possible in the formality of type to reproduce the abbreviations, the individuality of spelling, and the words and phrases of what has been called "the little language" in which Swift disguised his affectionate teasings and greetings. Williams has annotated the text fully and has printed as appendices interesting illustrative documents and copies of Swift's drafts of official papers. He has also included a provocative paper by Henry Mangan in which is examined all the evidence concerning the rather doubtful pedigrees of the various portraits of Stella (including the four reproduced here) which have been assumed to exist. In his introduction he has given a full account of the early editions, with pertinent biographical information concerning Swift and Stella. In considering their "enigmatic relationship" he has refrained from advancing any new theories and has avoided entanglement with the diagnoses put forward at various times by members of the medical profession. It is left for the reader himself to decide what to make of all the many expressions of affection, tender or playful, in which Swift reveals his feelings, sometimes rather surprisingly if we remember that the letters were addressed to Stella's companion, Mrs. Dingley, and certainly read by the two ladies together.

For that reason, if no other, we shall continue perhaps to look in vain

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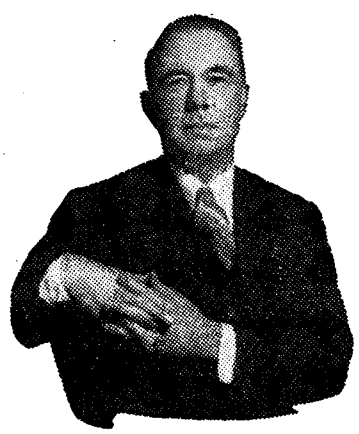

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even beneath the cipher of the little language for any final answer that will satisfy our curiosity. But we can at least trace the course of their friendship further if we turn to the verses he addressed to Stella later on, or the prayers he wrote for her in her sickness, or the anxious inquiries in some of the letters he wrote from England during his last visit there, or the agonized reflections he set down after her death. Whatever their relationship, whatever her disappointment may have sometimes been in this ambiguous lover, the records he left of her have given her an exalted place among famous women. HERBERT DAVIS

Dr. Davis is president of Smith College and author of many books on Swift.

Crime and Punishment

The Case of the Journeying Boy, by Michael Innes (Dodd, Mead; $2.75). The spy ring goes into action when Sir Bernard Paxton, Britain's foremost atomic scientist, hires a tutor to take his problem child Humphrey (aged 15) to Ireland for the summer. Captain Cox, who has accepted the assignment, is murdered the day before he and Humphrey are to set off, and Sir Bernard has to fall back on Mr. Thewless, a scholarly gentleman "almost irrationally determined to deny that the universe holds anything dangerous or surprising." While Scotland Yard is busy in London investigating Cox's murder, Mr. Thewless and his young charge find themselves precipitated into a sequence of curious and unhealthy events at Killyboffin Hall. Mr. Thewless loses his complacency but shows plenty of sinew against the agents; Humphrey justifies his precocity in outsmarting some clever plotters; and Alfred Hitchcock is the man to translate this fine exercise in suspense to the screen. E. H.

MUSIC: Columbia Festival

USING PART of the income from a bequest known as the Alice M. Ditson Fund, Columbia University presents a Festival of Contemporary American Music on its campus every May. The fifth of these sessions opened with the world première of "A Drumlin Legend," a folk-opera, or "music-play," commissioned by the fund and composed by Ernst Bacon to a libretto by Helena Carus. The other four programs were concerts, ranging in content from Jewish liturgical music by contemporary composers and revivals of scores written by the *avant-garde* of a generation ago (Charles Ives, Carl Ruggles, Edgar Varèse, Colin McPhee) to the first performances of two commissioned symphonic works, by Randall Thompson and Paul Hindemith. These last were played by the CBS Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Thor Johnson, conductor of the Cincinnati Symphony, who was this year's recipient of the Ditson award to an American conductor "for distinguished services to American music."

"A Drumlin Legend," intended as a fantasy, deals with the ambivalence of a former aviator who—for reasons that remained obscure—finds himself living in the drumlin country after the end of the war, and not liking it. (Drumlins are glacially formed hills, characteristic of the country around Syracuse, New York, where Bacon lives.) The ex-aviator is on the point of returning to the Air Force when a ballet intervenes, and persuades him by weaving a magic vest out of the ribbons of a maypole that a quiet life among the drumlins and marriage to a schoolteacher are the best values life can offer him. The music, a string of imitation folksongs attractively harmonized, has not an iota of dramatic impact. The libretto reaches new depths not only of dramaturgy but of versification as well.

I dwell on the details of this misbegotten work primarily to suggest a reason why there are nearly always empty seats at Columbia Festival performances, even though tickets are free and invitations not hard to get. Nobody seems to exercise much advance judgment in determining the music to be presented each year. As a result, half the music turns out spineless or boring at best, and downright fatuous at worst. Presumably the program committee tries to be democratic by allowing as many American composers as possible to be represented. This policy is of course nice for the composers, and it can be said to give a cross-section of the country's musical output. But it is hard on an audience, and even harder on the cause of American music, which loses quite as many friends as it gains at each Ditson festival.

It is true that Gian-Carlo Menotti's "The Medium," Virgil Thomson's and Gertrude Stein's "The Mother of Us All" and Wallingford Riegger's Third Symphony (which won the Critics' Circle prize last year) were all commissioned by the Columbia Festival. But these successes were counterbalanced, in the three different festivals that brought them to light, by far too many works that could not hold the interest of any audience, no matter how charitable. Among this year's premières, not a single composition of first-rank value appeared. Even Paul Hindemith, in his Concerto for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Harp and Orchestra, provided nothing more than a pleasant occasional piece, distinguished chiefly by recurrent clarinet references in the finale to Mendelssohn's Wedding March, a token of the fact that the performance occurred on the composer's twenty-fifth wedding anniversary.

In England, Sir Thomas Beecham has recently been the central figure in various concerts and celebrations marking his seventieth birthday. Wealthy, irascible, sharp-tongued and opinionated, Beecham has made it his life's occupation to goad the British public into better musical taste and heartier patronage of its musical institutions. At one time or another he has supported four orchestras, and paid the deficits of opera seasons at Covent Garden.

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Though he has hurled many an angry tirade at the British audience for its complacency and unresponsiveness, he nevertheless loves it as a father loves a backward, erring child, and he has continued to spend his money and his artistic energy on it. More than any other single musician, he has taught the British public to understand and value high standards of performance and appreciation. He intends to keep at the job indefinitely, for he has no intention of quitting until he dies, which, he assures us, is "a hell of a way off."

In tribute to Beecham's birthday, RCA Victor has released six recordings made by him—a nearly uncut version of Gounod's "Faust," conducted with brilliant flair and apposite style, and effectively sung by members of the Paris Opéra (DM-1300 and DM-1301; $11 each); and five orchestral works, all superbly played by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and recorded with exceptional fidelity: Debussy's "Printemps," one of that composer's palest and most saccharine pieces (DM-1293; $2.50); Dvorak's long-winded but particularly beautifully orchestrated symphonic poem, "The Golden Spinning Wheel" (DM-1291; $4.75); Liszt's sumptuous if vacuous "Orpheus" (DM-1295; $2.50); Mozart's cheerful Concerto for Flute and Harp, with René Le Roy and Lily Laskine as top-grade soloists (DM-1292; $4.75); and the merry Overture, Polka, and Dance of the Comedians, from Smetana's opera, "The Bartered Bride" (DM-1294; $2.50).

CECIL SMITH

ON THE AIR: A Cheer for CBS

IF IT HAD NOT BEEN for the pioneer antics of television, radio critics during the past 18 months would have been scratching to fill their columns. Radio-network initiative has been largely confined to the business of kidnaping stars and programs; the old formats have grown rusty and even such a new one as the postwar documentary has lost its cutting edge.

Now that the season is almost over, CBS has found its second wind and put on one of the best documentaries ever broadcast. The show was "The People's Choice," the story of a newly elected congressman "in search of the meaning of a mandate." As written by Peter Lyon and produced under supervision of the network's documentary chief, Werner Michel, it was as convincing as a mathematical formula.

The program did not fight sin in the abstract, nor exile its hero to Ruritania. Representative Andrew Randolph was a man we could understand. He was a Democrat, elected last fall on a platform that included Taft-Hartley repeal, housing legislation, farm prices, a civil-rights program, national health insurance. He went to Washington convinced he would help do the job, and then be able to return home where he could live normally and indulge his contempt for politicians. The first lobbyist Randolph invited to go to hell was not the spokesman for some nebulous vested interest; he was worried about the growing challenge of public power and was proposing a deal with a group of Southern congressmen.

That's the way the program went throughout its hour. Decent fellow congressmen bolstered Randolph's determination to do his job, but around him also were men who had grown tired in the fight; as well as cynics, hacks and outright stooges. Nor was Randolph the staunchest of knights; he was ready to give up too soon. But by the end, he discovered his own limitations—and the listener learned something about the conditions under which congressmen must work.

Ralph Bellamy, as Andrew Randolph, was real all the way through, tempering early naïveté with humor, and countering later disillusion with determination. A less skillful actor could have sounded like a Boy Scout. Bellamy convinced the listener that Randolph was trying sensibly to do a man's job.

With this program, the CBS Documentary Unit once more resumed its place at the head of the network parade. Although many people were involved in the venture, the principal credit must go to Michel for his guidance of a project that involved several months' work, and to Lyon for his clean, absolutely artless writing style.

Another major CBS documentary is scheduled for Sunday, June 26, 10 to 11 p.m. This one will probably bear the title "Citizen of the World," and will be devoted to an examination of the way various real people in different countries are paying their debt to global citizenship through work on various UN bodies, government agencies and non-government organizations. Norman Corwin is the author; it is the first major radio work he has done in more than two years. Watch the local press for a confirmation of date and air time.

Still a third CBS program, "You Are There" (Sunday at 2:30), hasn't

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been mentioned here for a long time, although it earns praise almost any week. These enactments of historical episodes are the result of one of the most careful research jobs in radio. Under Robert Lewis Shayon, who not only plans the series but also directs it and frequently acts as script collaborator, "You Are There" places CBS microphones, manned by its best announcers and commentators, at vantage points overlooking the assassination of Julius Caesar or the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice Chase or Napoleon's return from Elba. Last March, a stupendous trilogy traced the career of Alexander the Great and, without stepping out of historical context, became an indictment of tyranny in general. Michael Sklar, who wrote the Alexander shows, just did one on Fort Sumter which must have made many an unreconstructed rebel choke on his julep.

The production on this program is of uniform excellence. Every show bears Shayon's signature as producer and director, and there isn't a firmer artist in any radio control booth. Most of the programs now are staff written by Sklar and Irve Tunich, but Shayon had used many others of radio's best scripters. He has not hesitated to violate the tabu against rebroadcast, often repeating some of his best shows.

"You Are There" will close for the season on June 12. During the summer, you can hear samples of this program by listening to two of the best numbers on Columbia records. One is "The Signing of the Magna Carta," the other is "The Battle of Gettysburg." Both are available in 78 r.p.m. albums, six 12-inch sides (MM-822 and MM-823, $3.85 each) or both on one Columbia LP record (ML-4149, $4.85). My only quarrel with these fine recordings is that Columbia neglected to name the writers on the disc credits. If you buy these records you might note that Henry Walsh wrote the Magna Carta piece, and that Micajah Wren is the author of "Gettysburg."

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Women in Trouble

If THE ITALIAN Anna Magnani is not the most sensitive or thoughtful actress on the screen today, she is certainly the most exciting. No one can match her zest and drive; the quicksilver of her emotion is stunning, her speech is a torrent of passion, her pantomime reflects, intensifies, comments upon everything around her. She walks as though legions followed her, laughs as though the world were on holiday, weeps with an abandon to make the gods take heed. It is not unlikely, however, that she is the most difficult of performers to direct, and her two current appearances seem to prove that she cannot be employed in cardboard plots.

Miss Magnani has the defects of her virtues, the most obvious of which is a tendency to fly off the tracks. Put her in a little penny-dreadful like "The Bandit," give her as a partner Amadeo Nazzari, described with fatal accuracy by the American press agent as a "leading Roman matinee idol," and in no time at all she has the china shop down around her ears. She begins to heave, she rolls her eyes and flares her nostrils and behaves in general as though she were battling a high wind. As an athletic demonstration this is impressive, but as acting it is overstatement.

She is better, though not good, in "Woman Trouble" (a grotesquely inept title for what in the Italian is called "The Streets Are Full of Dreams"). It is not much of a picture, but it gives her a more subtle leading man, Massimo Girotti, and it lets her be a real wife and mother in an unreal pasteup of a plot. To see her in scale you would have to hunt up "Open City" or "Angelina."

"The Bandit" and "Woman Trouble" are built on precisely the same theme. A good man comes home to Italy after the war, tries to make an honest living in the ruined country, takes to crime in desperation. One picture finds in this a romantic melodrama, the other sees it as domestic farce. It is not a good augury for the continued stature of the Italian screen that neither picture faces the subject squarely.

In "The Bandit," Miss Magnani is the chief of a gang of nightmarish outlaws, among them a marceled piano player, a leering dope fiend and a startling double for the father in Charles Addams' macabre family. Coincidence drops the handsome Nazzari into this nest; he is attracted by the lady and she responds like a howitzer being fired in a bedroom. But love and crime don't mix, and in no time at all Miss Magnani has fled the country, the outlaws are being hunted through the hills and Nazzari finds himself walking into a fatal trap in order to return the baby daughter of an old prison buddy to her father's arms.

"The Bandit" is said to be popular in Europe and the crime-with-sex-with-sentimentality recipe is almost foolproof. Customers of the Hollywood cuisine, however, will find this particular dish unpalatably raw.

In "Woman Trouble," the returning hero steals a car. Magnani, hearing of the vehicle but not of the theft, assumes her husband is philandering and joins the hazardous getaway to spoil his fun and provide her child with a wholesome outing. The resulting Keystone comedy has at least one moment of genuine laughter, but all in all it is threadbare tomfoolery. From moment to moment, however, Miss Magnani gives brief flashes of what she can do in a part with some humanity. Now if the Italian producers will only find something worth her fire before she gives up acting in disgust and takes to hamming entirely.

Since Miss Sarah Churchill will be seen on the American screen for the first time in "All Over the Town," a notice of the occasion is a journalistic obligation. The picture, however, is

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almost impossible to review; it slips through the mind and leaves no evidence of its passing. The British studios have a tendency to fall back on niceness when they run out of ideas and the result is always like a tea party where the fire is too warm and the refreshment too weak. Miss Churchill looks a wholesome and well-brought-up young lady; her interest in acting may be genuine, but her name is so much greater than her talent that no one will suppose she competed professionally for the role. The daughters of famous men place critics in an uncomfortable position when they display their modest abilities in public.

Playing opposite her is Norman Wooland (Horatio in Olivier's "Hamlet") in the not unusual role of a crusading reporter who hides his convictions under a jaunty hat. Postwar plans for modernizing the ancient fishing village of Tormouth have fallen into the hands of the real-estate interests, and Wooland, back from the war, finds his publishers playing their usual game of footsie with the advertisers.

All this changes when the star reporter, given the editor's desk and spurred on by his sweetheart, tears the lid off the town. It's a tough fight, as fights go among proper people, but in the end he saves the town and wins the girl. Wooland is pleasant, Miss Churchill is pleasant—all the good people are pleasant and all the villains are comic. A more unobjectionable picture was never made.

In "The Lady Gambles," Barbara Stanwyck's inability to resist the stimulation of dice, roulette, poker and the ponies stems from a deep-seated death wish. This, in turn, has been brought about by the ministrations of a possessive and vindictive older sister who takes frequent occasion to remind Miss Stanwyck that their mother died in bearing her.

A good part of the film is played in Las Vegas and in Mexico, but the conflict is resolved in an emergency ward at Bellevue where the heroine is recovering from the result of having introduced a pair of asymmetrical dice into a crap game. This picture is an oddity today in that no one in it appears to have heard of psychiatry. Even the house physician maintains for hours that a doctor's job is to patch up bodies and not to worry about minds, though in the end, with Miss Stanwyck perched on a window ledge, he does advance the suicide hypothesis. Until then, the only therapy she gets comes from her husband, who administers the Scout's Oath to her one afternoon when they are sightseeing on Boulder Dam. It is completely ineffective.

The picture is billed as the gamblers' "Lost Weekend," but the resemblance is only tangential. Miss Stanwyck's vice is perhaps less vivid, or perhaps Charles Jackson's memoir was more convincing. It takes a lot of good will, for instance, to believe that a lady who has known the game for less than a week could win several thousand dollars in an all-night poker session with a group of sinful cattle breeders from Texas.

ROBERT HATCH

CORRESPONDENCE

Soviet Russia Today

SIR: Permit me to congratulate you on your special supplement on Russia (May 16) and its two predecessors on national affairs. I do not think I have ever seen a more practical, brilliant or fundamentally sound journalistic contribution to the problems of our bewildering age. The reactionary press, for all of its resources, cannot begin to match this technique, which should have far-reaching consequences not only for the success of your magazine but for the political outlook of the country.

Kent, Wash. LINDEN DALBERG

SIR: I have read with interest your supplement, "How Strong Is Soviet Russia?," and wholeheartedly agree with its main conclusion that "progressive democracy has nothing to fear from Soviet Communism. A reactionary crusade against the Soviet Union, however, even armed with the atomic bomb, might suffer the same fate as the Nationalist Government of China."

I find two surprising gaps, however, in the reasoning that leads you to this conclusion. First, you base your con-

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clusion on a judgment of relative weakness of the USSR vis-à-vis the USA, whereas the facts dealt with disclose relative strength, a greater capacity on the part of the USSR to master its problems. . . . Mr. Bergson seemed to have been troubled by this point, but was too timid to press it. I think that, before you have laid a sound foundation for your conclusion, you will find it necessary to reconcile it to Soviet strength, rather than weakness.

Second, it is indeed surprising to read that: "Living standards . . . have not regained the levels reached within the USSR in 1928," and that even in 1938 the level "was much lower than in the year 1928." The fact that 1938 living standards were much higher than 1928 is sufficiently proved by a few key production figures: grain rose from 73 million tons to 95 (and in 1940 to 119); sugar from 1,283 to 2,519 thousand tons; cotton cloth from 2,742 to 3,491 million meters; leather footwear from 29.5 million to 213 million pairs. The losses resulting from the war may, perhaps, not be entirely overcome, but the 1949 level is obviously much higher than 1928, except for particular items where war damages require, by their technical nature, a term of years to repair, as housing and livestock. Consumers'-goods industries are keeping pace with heavy industry, and the general index of production for 1948 is higher than 1938, and approximates 1940. Your experts simply ignored the facts.

New York City EARL BROWDER

Tidelands Oil

SIR: The Old Curmudgeon is again on the side of the angels without clearly knowing why. His proposal to *dedicate* the income of the national government from its tidelands oil reserves to a federal educational trust for the states is a fine example (the *NR*, May 16). The endorsement of his proposal by a state legislature should be cause for his alarm, not for his satisfaction.

One has only to look at the rat maze of *dedicated funds* in state governments to see the awkwardness of the means Mr. Ickes proposes for noble ends. *Dedicated funds* in the states are an example of a recurring legislative guilt complex. A new tax or an increased levy, particularly one with an uncertain yield, is the occasion in the states for much artful footwork. These uncertain yields from politically unpopular taxes are dedicated in blank amounts to the holiest purposes available at the moment—usually the old folks or the kiddies—in order to take off the curse.

The result is a double defeat for fiscal responsibility. The executive is barred from any role in the adjustment of the flow of funds to changing needs. And the legislature need not concern itself biennially with yet another appropriation problem.

Virtue is automatically served; no one can be blamed if the funds available are too big or too small; and the fiscal structure of the state grows so complex that only the repeaters in political office have a chance to learn their way into the maze—and even fewer their way *out*.

Let Mr. Ickes spare the federal budget process, already complex, from the fate of the states!

Minneapolis, Minn. TOM PAGE

Artists and Critics

SIR: Lincoln Kirstein, in "Artists and Critics: A Survey" (the *New Republic*, April 18), says: "A gentle corrective to some aspects of his [Pach's] optimism is *Fakes*, by Otto Kurz. There, several important museum acquisitions, also reproduced by Pach, are given more analytical treatment." The idea I got, and that I think anyone else would get, from the sentence is that Mr. Kurz found reason to consider as fakes . . . works which I had reproduced in a volume of my own, *The Art Museum in America*. As I was satisfied about the authenticity of every work I showed, I thought Mr. Kurz must be another of those persons who try to pose as supercritics by expressing doubt or pretended doubt as to things which people believe in. . . . On examining his book, however, I found it to be serious, able and unbiased. Also, and here is the point of the matter, *not one work among the sixty-four which I reproduce is as much as mentioned by Mr. Kurz.*

I am willing to pass over the reflection on my competence and on the value of my book which Mr. Kirstein's statement quite obviously entails. But I think your readers are entitled to know that they were given a misrepresentation of fact, and that the couple of lines on Mr. Kurz's book in your omnibus review misrepresent that work also, for they make it seem critical of the connoisseurship which presides over American museums. . . .

New York City WALTER PACH

SIR: Mr. Pach is absolutely right. Both he and the readers of the *New Republic* deserve my apologies. I confused the forgery shown by Kurz (p. 47) with the bust by Verrocchio (p. 18, Pach). A further example of my carelessness was a confusion in the type of the Bastianini figure (Kurz, p. 46) with the Diane de Poitiers (Pach, p. 37) which he says is "very plausibly attributed" to Jean Goujon.

New York City LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

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The Cold Peace

The aircraft industry, a large part of which is centered here in Southern California, will undoubtedly be benefited by the recent changes in military leadership and thinking. Yet there is always the possibility that a Russian peace offensive, even now underway, may result in undermining this advantage. – *From the Los Angeles* Daily News.

The Uses of Adversity

Mrs. Colvin said the hospitals pay less for blood from the Skid Row donors, using this blood for charity patients. – *From the Chicago* Daily News.

Caught Napping

Never before had Logan [co-author, co-producer and director of "South Pacific"] worked so hard. Night after night he never slept at all.

Afterward he slept even less. . . . – *From* Life.

Silence Is Treason

An employee may be discharged on the sole ground that he is a Communist. It is an implied condition in every contract of hiring that the employee represents that he is not a Communist. The court will take judicial notice of the fact that a person refusing to state publicly whether or not he is a Communist is regarded in America as a Communist. – *From the "Lawyer Service Letter."*

Etiquette

Shirley Temple turned 21 today—but it didn't make any difference in her bank book. She came into all those millions she earned as a baby star three years ago. How many there are exactly, Shirley isn't telling. She thinks it's bad taste. - *UP dispatch from Hollywood.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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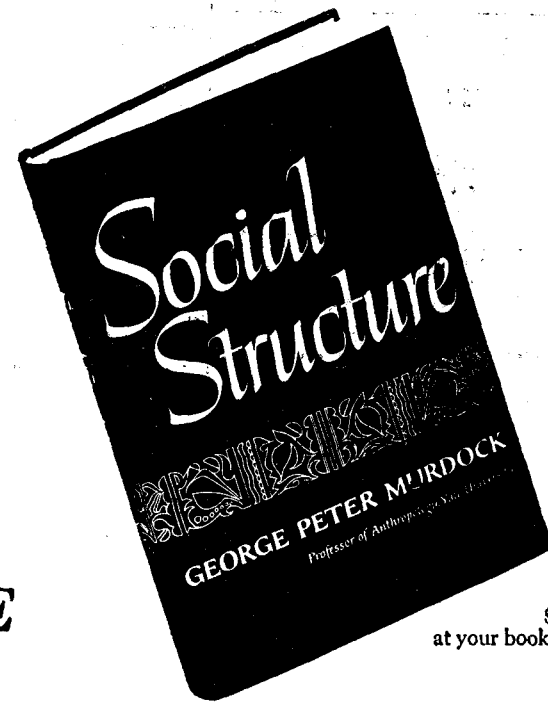

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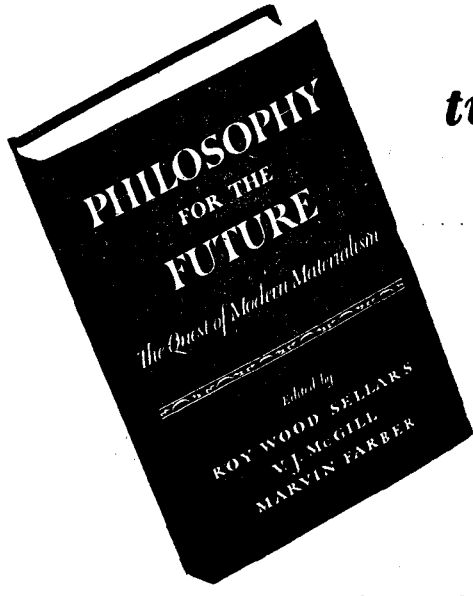

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